

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
LEAGUE.

Written in *FRENCH*  
By Monsieur *MAIMBOURG*.

Translated into *ENGLISH*  
According to His Majesty's Command.

By Mr. *DRYDEN*.

— *Neque enim libertas gravior ulla est*  
*Quàm sub Rege Pio* —

*L O N D O N,*  
Printed by *M. Flesher*, for *Jacob Tonson*, at the  
*Judge's-Head* in *Chancery-lane* near *Fleetstreet*. 1684.







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TO  
The King.

SIR,

HAVING receiv'd the Honour of Your Majesty's Commands to Translate the History of the *League*, I have apply'd my self with my utmost diligence to Obey them: First by a thorough understanding of my Authour, in which I was assisted by my former knowledge of the *French* History, in general, and in particular of those very Transactions, which he has so Faithfully and

A 2                      Judi-

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*To the King.*

Judiciously related : Then by giving his Thoughts the same Beauty in our Language which they had in the Original ; and which I most of all endeavour'd, the same force and perspicuity: Both of which I hope I have perform'd with some Exactness, and without any Considerable Mistake. But of this Your Majesty is the truest Judge, who are so great a Master of the Original, and who having read this piece when it first was publish'd, can easily find out my Failings, but to my Comfort can more easily forgive them : I confess I cou'd never have laid hold on that Vertue of Your Royal Clemency at a more unseasonable time ; when your Enemies have so far abus'd it, that Pardons  
are

*To the King.*

are grown dangerous to Your Safety, and consequently to the Welfare of Your Loyal Subjects: But frequent forgiveness is their Encouragement, they have the Sanctuary in their Eye before they attempt the Crime, and take all measures of Security, either not to need a Pardon, if they strike the Blow, or to have it granted if they fail: Upon the whole matter Your Majesty is not upon equal Terms with them, You are still forgiving, and they still designing against Your Sacred Life; Your principle is Mercy, theirs inveterate Malice; when one onely Wards, and the other Strikes, the prospect is sad on the defensive side. *Hercules* as the Poets tell us had no advantage on *Anteus*



*To the King.*

by his often throwing him on  
the ground: for he laid him  
only in his Mothers Lap, which  
in effect was but doubling his  
Strength to renew the Combat.  
These Sons of Earth are never  
to be trusted in their Mother  
Element: They must be hoy-  
sted into the Air and Strangled.  
If the Experiment of Clemency  
were new, if it had not been  
often try'd without Effect, or  
rather with Effects quite con-  
trary to the intentions of Your  
Goodness, your Loyal Subjects  
are generous enough to pity  
their Countrey-men, though  
Offenders: But when that pity  
has been always found to draw  
into example of greater Mis-  
chiefs; when they continually  
behold both Your Majesty and  
themselves expos'd to Dangers,  
the

### *To the King.*

the Church, the Government,  
the Succession still threatned,  
Ingratitude so far from being  
Converted by gentle means,  
that it is turn'd at last into the  
nature of the damn'd, desirous  
of Revenge, and harden'd in  
Impenitence; 'Tis time at  
length, for self preservation to  
cry out for Justice, and to lay  
by Mildness when it ceases to  
be a Vertue. Almighty God  
has hitherto Miraculously pre-  
serv'd You; but who knows  
how long the Miracle will con-  
tinue? His Ordinary Operati-  
ons are by second Causes, and  
then Reason will conclude that  
to be preserv'd, we ought to  
use the lawfull means of pre-  
servation. If on the other  
side it be thus Argu'd, that  
of many Attempts one may

A 4 possibly

To the King.

possibly take place, if preventing Justice be not employ'd against Offenders; What remains but that we implore the Divine Assistance to Avert that Judgment: which is no more than to desire of God to work another, and another, and in Conclusion a whole Series of Miracles. This, Sir, is the general voice of all true *Englishmen*; I might call it the Loyal Address of three Nations infinitely solicitous of Your Safety, which includes their own Prosperity. 'Tis indeed an high presumption for a man so inconsiderable as I am to present it, but Zeal, and dutifull Affection in an Affair of this Importance, will make every good Subject a Counsellor: 'Tis (in my Opinion) the Test  
of

*To the King.*

of Loyalty, and to be either a Friend or Foe to the Government, needs no other distinction than to declare at this time, either for Remifness, or Justice. I said at this time, because I look not on the Storm as Overblown. 'Tis still a gusty kind of Weather: there is a kind of Sicknes in the Air; it seems indeed to be clear'd up for some few hours; but the Wind still blowing from the same Corner; and when new matter is gather'd into a body, it will not fail to bring it round and pour upon us a second Tempest. I shall be glad to be found a false Prophet; but he was certainly Inspir'd, who when he saw a little Cloud arising from the Sea, and that no bigger than a hand, gave immediate

*To the King.*

mediate notice to the King, that he might mount the Chariot, before he was overtaken by the Storm. If so much Care was taken of an Idolatrous King, an Usurper, a Persecutour, and a Tyrant, how much more vigilant ought we to be in the Concernments of a Lawfull Prince, a Father of his Countrey, and a Defender of the Faith, who stands expos'd by his too much Mercy to the unwearied and endless Conspiracies of Paricides? He was a better Prince than the former whom I mention'd out of the Sacred History, and the Allusion comes yet more close, who stopp'd his hand after the third Arrow: Three Victories were indeed obtain'd, but the effect of often shooting had  
been

*To the King.*

been the total Destruction of his Enemies. To come yet nearer, *Henry* the Fourth, Your Royal Grandfather, whose Victories, and the Subversion of the *League*, are the main Argument of this History, was a Prince most Clement in his Nature, he forgave his Rebels, and receiv'd them all into Mercy, and some of them into Favour, but it was not till he had fully vanquish'd them: they were sensible of their Impiety, they submitted, and his Clemency was not extorted from him, it was his Free-gift, and it was seasonably given. I wish the Case were here the same, I confess it was not much unlike it at Your Majesty's happy Restauration, yet so much of the parallel was then wanting,

*To the King.*

ing, that the Amnesty you gave, produc'd not all the desir'd Effects. For our Sects, are of a more obstinate Nature than were those *Leaguings Catholics*, who were always for a King, and yet more, the *major* part of them wou'd have him of the Royal Stem: But our *Associators* and *Sectaries* are men of Commonwealth principles, and though their first stroke was onely aim'd at the immediate Succession, it was most manifest that it wou'd not there have ended; for at the same time they were hewing at your Royal Prerogatives: So that the next Successor, if there had been any, must have been a precarious Prince, and depended on them for the necessities of Life. But of these  
and

*To the King.*

and more Outragious proceedings, your Majesty has already shewn your self justly sensible in Your Declaration, after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, which put an end to the Arbitrary Encroachments of a Popular Faction: Since which time it has pleas'd Almighty God so to prosper Your Affairs, that without searching into the secrets of Divine Providence, 'tis evident Your Magnanimity and Resolution, next under him, have been the immediate Cause of Your Safety and our present Happiness. By weathering of which Storm, may I presume to say it without Flattery, You have perform'd a Greater and more Glorious work than all the Conquests of Your Neighbours



*To the King.*

bours. For 'tis not difficult for a Great Monarchy well united, and making use of Advantages, to extend its Limits ; but to be press'd with wants, surrounded with dangers, Your Authority undermined in Popular Assemblies, Your Sacred Life attempted by a Conspiracy, Your Royal Brother forc'd from Your Arms, in one word to Govern a Kingdom which was either possess'd, or turn'd into a *Bedlam*, and yet in the midst of ruine to stand firm, undaunted, and resolv'd, and at last to break through all these difficulties, and dispell them, this is indeed an Action which is worthy the Grandson of *Henry the Great*. During all this violence of Your Enemies Your Majesty has contended.

## *To the King.*

tended with Your natural Clemency to make some Examples of Your Justice, and they themselves will acknowledge that You have not urg'd the Law against them, but have been press'd and constrain'd by it to inflict punishments in Your own defence, and in the mean time to watch every Opportunity of shewing Mercy, when there was the least probability of Repentance: so that they who have suffer'd may be truly said to have forc'd the Sword of Justice out of Your hand, and to have done Execution on themselves. But by how much the more You have been willing to spare them, by so much has their Impudence increas'd, and if by this Mildness they recover from the Great Frost,

*To the King.*

Frost, which has almost blasted them to the roots, if these venomous plants shoot out again, it will be a sad Comfort to say they have been ungratefull, when 'tis Evident to Mankind that Ingratitude is their Nature: That sort of pity which is proper for them, and may be of use to their Conversion is to make them sensible of their Errors, and this Your Majesty out of Your Fatherly Indulgence amongst other Experiments which You have made, is pleas'd to allow them in this Book; which you have Commanded to be Translated for the publique benefit; that at least all such as are not wilfully blind, may View in it, as in a Glass, their own deformities: For never was there a plainer

*To the King.*

plainer Parallel than of the  
Troubles of *France*, and of  
*Great Britain*; of their Leagues,  
Covenants, Associations, and  
Ours; of their *Calvinists*, and  
our *Presbyterians*: they are all  
of the same Family, and *Titi-*  
*an's* famous Table of the Altar  
piece with the Pictures of *Vene-*  
*tian* Senatours from Great-  
Grandfather to Great-Grand-  
son, shews not more the Re-  
semblance of a Race than this:  
For as there, so here, the Fea-  
tures are alike in all, there is  
nothing but the Age that makes  
the difference, otherwise the  
Old man of an hundred and  
the Babe in Swadling-clouts;  
that is to say, 1584, and 1684.  
have but a Century and a Sea  
betwixt them, to be the same.  
But I have presum'd too much  
a upon

### *To the King.*

upon Your Majesty's time already, and this is not the place to shew that resemblance, which is but too manifest in the whole History. 'Tis enough to say Your Majesty has allow'd our Rebels a greater Favour than the Law; You have given them the Benefit of their Clergy: if they can but read and will be honest enough to apply it, they may be sav'd. God Almighty give an answerable success to this Your Royal Act of Grace, may they all repent, and be united as the Body to their Head. May that Treasury of Mercy which is within Your Royal Breast have leave to be powr'd forth upon them, when they put themselves in a condition of receiving it; And in the mean time  
permit

*To the King.*

permit me to Implore it humbly for my self, and let my Presumption in this bold Address be forgiven to the Zeal which I have to Your Service, and to the publique good. To conclude, may You never have a worse meaning Offender at Your feet, than him who besides his Duty and his Natural inclinations, has all manner of Obligations to be perpetually,

*Sir,*

*Your Majesty's most humble,*

*most Obedient, and most faithfull*

*Subject, and Servant*

John Dryden.



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THE  
AUTHOUR'S

Dedication to the  
French King.

S I R,

**F**Rance, *which being well united, as we now behold it, under the Glorious Reign of your Majesty, might give law to all the World ; was upon the point of self Destruction, by the division which was rais'd in it by two fatal Leagues of Rebels : the one in the middle , and the other to-*  
a 3                      wards



The Authour's Dedication  
wards the latter end of the last  
Age.

Heresie produc'd the first, against the true Religion: Ambition under the Masque of Zeal gave birth to the second, with pretence of maintaining what the other would have ruin'd: and both of them, though implacable Enemies to each other, yet agreed in this, that each of them at divers times, set up the Standard of Rebellion against our Kings.

The crimes of the former I have set forth in the History of Calvinism, which made that impious League in France, against the Lord and his Anointed; and I discover the Wickedness of the latter in this Work, which I present to your Majesty, as the fruit of my exact Obedience to those commands with which you have been pleas'd

to the French King.

pleas'd to honour me. I have endeavour'd to perform them, with so much the greater satisfaction to myself, because I believ'd that in reading this History, the falsehood of some advantages which the Leaguers and Huguenots have ascrib'd to themselves, may be easily discern'd. These by boasting as they frequently do, even at this day, that they set the Crown on the Head of King Henry the Fourth; those that their League was the cause of his conversion. I hope the world will soon be abus'd of those mistakes; and that it will be clearly seen, that they were the Catholiques of the Royal Party, who next under God, produc'd those two effects, so advantageous to France. We are owing for neither of them to those two unhappy Leagues,

a 4                      which

### The Authour's Dedication

*which were the most dangerous Enemies to the prosperity of the Kingdom: And 'tis manifest at this present time, that the glory of triumphing over both of them, was reserv'd by the Divine Providence, to our Kings of the Imperial Stem of Bourbon.*

*Henry the Fourth subdued and reduc'd the League of the false Zealots, by the invincible Force of his Arms, and by the wonderfull attractions of his Clemency; Lewis the Just disarm'd that of the Calvinists by the taking of Rochelle, and other places, which those Heretiques had moulded into a kind of Commonwealth, against their Sovereign. And Lewis the Great, without employing other Arms than those of his Ardent Charity*

to the French King.

riety, and incomparable Zeal for the Conversion of Protestants, accompanied by the Justice of his Laws, has reduc'd it to that low condition, that we have reason to believe, we shall behold its ruine, by the repentance of those, who being deluded and held back by their Ministers, continue still in their erroneous belief, rather through ignorance than malice. And this is it, which when accomplish'd will surpass even all those other wonders which daily are beheld, under your most auspicious Government.

Undoubtedly, Sir, your Majesty has perform'd by your Victorious Arms, your generous goodness, and your more than Royal magnificence, all those great and Heroique actions, which will ever  
be

### The Authour's Dedication

be the admiration of the World, and infinitely above the commendations which future Ages, in imitation of the present, will consecrate to your immortal memory. I presume not to undertake that subject, because it has already drain'd the praises of the noblest Pens, which yet have not been able to raise us to that Idea of you, which we ought justly to conceive: I shall onely say, that what you have done with so much Prudence, Justice, and Glory, by extending the French Monarchy to its ancient bounds, and rendring it, as it is at present, as flourishing, and as much respected by all the World, as it ever has been, under the greatest and most renown'd of all our Monarchs, is not so great in the sight of God, as what your Majesty,

to the French King.

Majesty performs daily, with so much Piety, Zeal, and good success, in augmenting the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and procuring the Conversion of our Protestants, by those gentle and efficacious means which you have us'd.

This, Sir, is without exception, the most glorious of all your Conquests, and while you continue to enjoy on earth that undisputed glory, which your other actions have acquir'd you, is preparing an eternal triumph for you in the Heavens.

'Tis what is continually implor'd of God, in his most ardent Prayers, who enjoying the abundant favours of your Majesty, lives at this day the most happy of Mankind, under your most powerfull Protection,  
and

The Authour's Dedication, &c.  
*and is most oblig'd to continue  
all his life, with all imaginable  
Respect and Zeal,*

Sir,

Your Majesty's most Obedient

and most Faithfull

Subject and Servant

*Louis Maimbourg.*

THE

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THE  
AUTHOUR'S  
Advertisement to the  
READER.

**S**ince perhaps there are some, who may think themselves concern'd in this History, because they are the Grand-children or Descendants of those who are here mention'd, I desire them to consider, that Writing like a faithfull Historian, I am oblig'd sincerely to relate either the good or ill, which they have done. If they find themselves offended, they must take their satisfaction on those who have prescrib'd the Laws of History: let them give an account of their own rules; for Historians are indispensably bound to follow them; and the sum of our reputation



### *The Authour's Advertisement*

reputation consists in a punctual execution of their orders.

Thus as I pretend not to have deserv'd their thanks in speaking well of their Relations, so I may reasonably conclude, that they ought not to wish me ill, when I say what is not much to their advantage. I faithfully relate, what I find written in good Authours, or in particular Memoires, which I take for good, after I have thoroughly examin'd them.

I do yet more; for considering that no man is bound to believe, when I say in general that I have had the use of good Manuscripts, on whose credit I give you what is not elsewhere to be had; I sincerely and particularly point out the originals from whence I drew these truths; and am fully convinc'd, that every Historian, who hopes to gain the belief of his Reader, ought to transact in the same manner. For if there were no more to be done, than barely to say, I have found such or such an extraordinary passage in an authentique Manuscript, without giving a more particular account of it under pretence of being bound to  
Secrecy,

*to the Reader.*

Secrecy, there is no kind of Fable which by this means might not be slurr'd upon the Reader for a truth. An Authour might tell many a lusty lye, but a Reader, who were not a very credulous fool, or a very complaisant Gentleman, wou'd have a care of believing him. 'Tis for this reason that I have always mark'd in my margents, the Books, Relations, and Memoires, whether Printed or Manuscripts, from whence I take the substance of my Relations.

One of those Writers, of whom I have made most use, is Monsieur *Peter Victor Cayet*; in his Nine years Chronology, containing the History of the Wars of *Henry* the Fourth. Because he having always follow'd that Prince, since he was plac'd in his service together with Monsieur *de la Gaucherie* (who was his Preceptor) 'tis exceeding probable, that he was better inform'd of the passages of those times, of which he was an eye witness, than others who had not that advantage.

For what else concerns him, he was one of the most Learned and able

to the Reader. .

able Ministers which our *Protestants* have ever had: and in that quality serv'd Madam *Catharine* the King's Sister, till about two years after the Conversion of that great Prince, he acknowledg'd the true *Catholique* Religion, and made his Solemn abjuration of Heresie at *Paris*. He also publish'd the motives of his Conversion in a Learned Treatise, which was receiv'd with great applause both in *France* and in Foreign Countries; and his example, fortifi'd with the strong reasons of a man so able as he was, to which no solid answer was ever given, was immediately follow'd by the Conversion of a great number of *Protestants*, who by his means came to understand the falshood of their Religion pretendedly reform'd.

This action so infinitely netled his former Brotherhood of Ministers, that they grew outrageous against him. They ran down his reputation with full cry, and endeavour'd to blacken it with a thousand horrible calumnies, with which they stuff'd their Libels, and amongst others, that  
which

*to the Reader.*

which they have inserted into the Memoires of the *League*, with the greatest villany imaginable, taking no notice of the solid and convincing answers he made them. Which proceeding of theirs is sufficient to discover the falsity of all they have Written to Defame him, according to the Libelling *genius* of *Presbytery*.

For, of all Heretiques, none have been more cruel, or more foul-mouth'd than the *Calvinists*; none have reveng'd themselves of their pretended Enemies more barbarously, either by open Arms, or private mischiefs, when the power was in their hands; or more impudently with their Pens, and by their Libels, when they had no other way to shew their malice; murdering their reputations with all sorts of injuries and impostures, who have once declar'd themselves against their Party.

In effect, what have they not said to defame the memory of Monsieur *de Sponde*, Lieutenant General in *Rochelle*, of *Salette* Counsellour to the King of *Navarre*, of *Morlas* Counsellour

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### *The Authour's Advertisement*

fellour of State and Superintendant of the Magazines of *France*, as also of *Du Fay*, *Clairville*, *Roban*, and a hundred others of their most celebrated Ministers, whoafter having been esteem'd amongst them for good men, and look'd on as the Leaders of their Consistory, are by a strange sort of *Metamorphosis*, become on the sudden, Profligate Wretches, and the most infamous of mankind, onely for renouncing *Calvinism* ? By how many Forgeries and Calumnies have they endeavour'd to ruine the repute of all such *Catholiques* as have the most vigorously oppos'd their Hereſie ? History will furnish us with abundant proofs: and we have but too many in the Fragments which Monsieur *Le Laboureur* has given us of their insolent Satyrs, where they spare not the most inviolable and Sacred things on Earth ; not even their anointed Sovereigns.

For which Reason, that Writer in a certain Chapter of his Book, wherein he mentions but a small parcel of those Libels, after he has said, that the most venomous Satyrists, and the  
greatest

*to the Reader.*

greatest Libertines, were those of the *Huguenot* party, adds these memorable words. "I should have been ashamed  
"to have read all those Libels, for the  
"Blasphemies and Impieties with which  
"they are fill'd, if that very consideration had not been ayding to confirm  
"me in the belief, that there was more  
"wickedness, than either error or  
"blindness in their Doctrine; and that  
"their Morals were even more corrupt  
"than their opinions.

He assures us in another place, that these new Evangelists, have made entire Volumes of railing, of which he has seen above forty Manuscripts, and that there needed no other arguments to decide the difference betwixt the two Religions, and to elude the fair pretences of these reforming Innovateurs.

So, that all they have scribbled, with so much (I will not say violence but) madness against the *Sieur Cayet*, immediately upon his Conversion, cannot doe him the least manner of prejudice, no more than their ridiculous prediction wherein they foretold, that it wou'd not be long before he wou'd

### *The Authour's Advertisement*

be neither *Huguenot* nor *Catholique* but that he wou'd set up a third party betwixt the two Religions. For he ever continu'd to live so well amongst the *Catholiques*, that after he had given on all occasions large proofs, both of his Virtue and of his Faith, he was thought worthy to receive the order of Priesthood, and the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, and was Reader and Professour Royal of the Oriental Tongues.

Now seeing in the year 1605, ten years after his Conversion, he had publish'd his Septenary Chronology, of the Peace which was made at *Vervins* in the year 1598. Some of the greatest Lords at Court, who understood his Merit and had seen him with the King, (by whom he had the honour to be well known and much esteem'd,) oblig'd him to add to the History of the Peace, that of the War, which that great Prince made during Nine years after his coming to the Crown, till the Peace of *Vervins*: which he perform'd in the three Tomes of his Nine years Chronology, Printed at *Paris*, in the year 1608; in which

*to the Reader.*

which before he proceeds to the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth, he makes an abridgment of the most considerable passages in the *League*, to the death of *Henry* the third. And 'tis partly from this Authour, and partly from such others, as were Eye-witnesses of what they wrote, whether in Printed Books, or particular Memoires, that I have drawn those things, which are related by me in this History. I am not therefore my self the witness, nor as an Historian do I take upon me to decide the Merit of these actions, whether they are blameable or praise-worthy; I am onely the Relater of them; and since in that quality, I pretend not to be believ'd on my own bare word, and that I quote my Authours who are my Warrantees, as I have done in all my Histories, I believe my self to stand exempted from any just reproaches, which can be fasten'd on me for my writing.

On which Subject I think it may be truly said, that if instead of examining matters of Fact, and enquiring whether they are truly or falsely represented; that consideration be



### *The Authour's Advertisement*

laid aside, and the question taken up, whether such or such actions were good or bad, and matter of right pleaded, whether they deserv'd to be condemn'd or prais'd; it wou'd be but loss of time in unprofitable discourses, in which an Historian is no way concern'd. For in conclusion, he is onely answerable for such things as he reports, on the credit of those from whom he had them; taking from each of them some particulars, of which the rest are silent, and compiling out of all of them a new body of History, which is of a quite different Mould and fashion, from any of the Authours who have written before him.

And 'tis this, in which consists a great part of the delicacy and beauty of these kinds of Works, and which produces this effect; that keeping always in the most exact limits of truth, yet an Authour may lawfully pretend to the glory of the invention, having the satisfaction of setting forth a new History, though Writing onely the passages of a former Age, he can relate almost nothing, but what has  
been

*to the Reader.*

been written formerly, either in printed Books, or Manuscripts; which though kept up in private and little known, are notwithstanding, not the Work of him who writes the History.

As to what remains, none ought to wonder, that I make but one single Volume on this Subject, though the matter of it is of vast extent. I take not upon me to tell all that has been done, on occasion of the *League*, in all the Provinces, nor to describe all the Sieges; the taking and surprising of so many places, which were sometimes for the King, and at other times for the *League*; or all those petty Skirmishes which have drawn, (if I may have liberty so to express myself) such deluges of Blood from the veins of *France*. All these particulars ought to be the ingredients of the General History of this Nation, under the Reigns of the two last *Henries*, which may be read in many famous Historians; and principally in the last Tome of the late *Monsieur de Mezeray*, who has surpass'd himself, in that part of his great work.

*The Authour's Advertisement.*

I confine my undertaking within the compass of what is most essential in the particular History of the *League*, and have onely appli'd my self to the discovery of its true Origine, to unriddle its intrigues and artifices, and find out the most secret motives, by which the Heads of that Conspiracy have acted, to which the magnificent Title of the *Holy Union*, has been given with so much injustice: and in consequence of this, to make an exact description of the principal actions, and the greatest and most signal events, which decided the fortune of the *League*; and this in short is the Model of my Work.

As for the end which I propos'd to my self, in conceiving it, I may boldly say, that it was to give a plain understanding to all such, as shall read this History, that all sorts of Associations which are form'd against lawfull Sovereigns, particularly when the Conspiratours endeavour to disguise them, under the specious pretence of Religion and Piety, as did the *Huguenots* and *Leaguers*, are at all times most criminal in the sight of God, and most commonly

*to the Reader.*

commonly of unhappy and fatal Con-  
sequence to those, who are either  
the Authours or Accomplices of the  
Crime.

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**T H E**

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THE  
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OF THE  
BOOKS.

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The first Book.

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the end which was propos'd by it. In  
what it resembled the League of Calvi-  
nism. The condition in which France was  
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Poland. The ill Counsell which he fol-  
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
LEAGUE.

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L I B. I.

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**T**Hough this work which I have undertaken is the natural sequel of the History of *Calvinism*, 'tis yet most certain that the Subject which I treat has no relation to that Heresie. For it was not the desire of preserving the Catholique faith in *France*, nor any true motive of Religion which gave birth to the *League*, as the common people who have not been able to penetrate into the secret of  
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that accursed Cabal, have always been perswaded. It was derived from two passions which in all ages have produc'd most tragical Effects, I mean Ambition and Hatred. 'Tis true, the multitude, and above all the Church-men, who believ'd they had occasion to be alarm'd in matters of Religion, if he who was call'd to the Crown by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, shou'd obtain it, these I say were seduc'd by that specious appearance of true Zeal, which seem'd to be the very Soul and Foundation of the *League*. But it will not be difficult to discover in the process of this History, that the Authours of that Conspiracy made use of those pretences of Religion, to abuse the credulity, and even the Piety of the People; and to make them impious, without their perceiving it, by animating and arming them against their Kings, to root out (if they had been able) the last remaining Stem of the Royal Stock; and to plant on its Foundations, the dominion of a Foreigner.

And as none are able to execute an unjust Enterprize, but by means as pernicious

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nicious and execrable as the end it self which they propose, so will there be manifest in the sequel and progress of the *League*, even yet more disorders and mischiefs than ever *Calvinism* it self produc'd; against which alone it seem'd to have been arm'd: Yet in this particular, most resembling that Formidable party which was rais'd against the Catholique Church, that, being blasted as the Heresie had been by the Lord of Hosts, it was always unsuccessful in the Battels which it strooke against the lawfull power; And at length overwhelm'd with the same Engines which it had rais'd for the destruction of the Government.

Truly, 'tis a surprising thing to find both in the design and sequel of the *League*, by a miraculous order of the divine providence, revolutions altogether contrary to those which were expected. On the one side the majestique House of *Bourbon*, which was design'd for ruine, gloriously rais'd to that supreme degree of power in which we now behold it flourishing, to the wonder of the World; and on the other side, that of two eminent Fa-

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## *The History of the League.*

milies which endeavour'd their own advancement by its destruction, the one is already debas'd to the lowest degree, and the other almost reduc'd to nothing. So different are the designs of God, from those of men; and so little is there to be built on the foundations of humane policy and prudence, when men have onely passion for their guides, under the counterfeit names of Piety and Religion.

'Tis what I shall make evident, by unravelling the secrets and intrigues, couch'd under the *League*, by exposing its criminal and ill manag'd undertakings, which were almost always unsuccessfull; and by shewing in the close the issue it had, entirely opposite to its designs, by the exaltation of those whom it endeavour'd to oppress. But it will be first necessary to consider in what condition *France* then was, when this dangerous Association was first form'd, against the supreme Authority of our Kings.

*Ann. 1574.*

The fury of the Civil Wars which had laid the Kingdom desolate under the reign of *Charles* the Ninth seem'd to have almost wholly been extinguish'd

*The History of the League.*

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guish'd after the fourth Edict; of pacification, which was made at the Siege of *Rocheil*; and if the State was not altogether in a Calm, yet at least it was not toss'd in any violence of Tempest, when after the decease of the said King, his Brother *Henry*, then King of *Poland*, return'd to *France*, and took possession of a Crown devolv'd on him by the right of Inheritance. He was a Prince, who being then betwixt the years of 23, and 24, was endu'd with all Qualities and perfections capable of rendring him one of the greatest and most accomplish'd Monarchs in the World. For besides that his person was admirably shap'd, that he was tall of Stature, majestique in his Carriage, that the sound of his Voice, his Eyes, and all the features of his Face, were infinitely sweet; that he had a solid Judgment, a most happy Memory, a clear and discerning Understanding; that in his behaviour he had all the winning Graces which are requir'd in a Prince, to attract the love and respect of Subjects; 'Tis also certain, that no man cou'd possibly be more Liberal, more Magnificent, more Valiant,

*Ann. 1574.*

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more

Ann. 1574.

more Courteous, more addicted to Religion, or more Eloquent than he was naturally and without Art. To sum up all, he had wanted nothing to make himself and his Kingdom happy, had he followed those wholesome Counsels which were first given him; and had he still retain'd the noble ambition of continuing at least what he was formerly, under the glorious name of the Duke of *Anjou*, which he had render'd so renown'd by a thousand gallant actions, and particularly by the famous Victories of *Jarnac* and *Montcontour*.

The world was fill'd with those high *Ideas*, which it had conceiv'd of his rare merit, expecting from him the re-establishment of the Monarchy in its ancient splendour, and nothing was capable of weakning that hope, but onely the cruel Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, whereof he had been one of the most principal Authours, which had render'd him extremely odious to the Protestants. And therefore in his return from *Poland*, the Emperour *Maximilian* the Second, who rul'd the Empire in great tranquillity, notwithstanding

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standing the diversity of opinions <sup>Ann. 1574.</sup> which divided his cares betwixt the *Catholiques* and the *Lutherans*; the Duke of *Venice*, and the most judicious members of that august Senate, which is every where renown'd for prudence; and after his return to *France*, the Presidents, *De Thou*, and *Harlay*, the two Advocates General *Pibrac* and *du Mesnil*, and generally, all those who were most passionate for his greatness, and the good of his Estate advis'd him to give peace to his Subjects of the Religion pretendedly Reform'd, to heal and cement that gaping wound, which had run so much blood, in that fatal day of *St. Bartholomew*, and not to replunge his Kingdom in that gulf of miseries, wherein it was almost ready to have perish'd.

But the Chancellour *de Birague*, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and his Nephew the Duke of *Guise*, ( who at that time had no little part in the esteem and favour of his Master,) and above all, the Queen Mother, *Catharine de Mediees*, who entirely govern'd him, and who after the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*,

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dar'd

Ann. 1574.

dar'd no longer to trust the Protestants. These I say, ingag'd him in the War which he immediately made against them, and which was unsuccesfull to him. So that after he had been shamefully repuls'd, from before an inconsiderable Town in *Dauphine*, they took Arms in all places, becoming more fierce and insolent than ever, and made extraordinary progress, both in that part, in *Provence*, in *Languedoc*, in *Guienne*, and *Poitou*.

That which render'd them so powerful, (which otherwise they had not been,) was a party of Malecontents amongst the *Catholiques*, who were call'd the *Politiques*, because without touching on Religion, they protested that they took Arms onely for the publique good; for the relief and benefit of the people; and to reform those grievances and disorders, which were apparent in the State: A ground, which has always serv'd for a pretence of Rebellion to those men, who have rais'd themselves in opposition to their Kings and Masters, whom God commands us to obey, though they shou'd sometimes even abuse that power which he has

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has given them, not to destroy, or to demolish, as he speaks in his holy Scriptures, but to edify, that is to say, to procure the good, and to establish the happiness of their Subjects.

These *Politiques* then joyn'd themselves to the *Huguenots*, according to the resolution which they had taken at the Assembly held at *Montpellier*, in the month of *November*, and year of our Lord, 1574. *Henry de Montmorancy* Marshal of *Damville*, and Governour of *Languedoc*, who to maintain himself in that rich Government, of which he was design'd to be bereft, first form'd this party of the *Politiques*, into which he drew great numbers of the Nobles, his partisans and Friends; and principally the Seigneurs de *Thore*, and de *Meru-Montmorancy* his Brothers, the Count de *Vantadour* his Brother in Law, and the famous *Henry de la Tour d'Auvergn*, Viscount de *Turenne* his Nephew, who was afterwards Marshal of *France*, Duke of *Bouillon*, Sovereign Prince of *Sedan*, and the great Upholder of the *Huguenots*.

But



Ann. 1575.

But that, which made their power so formidable in the last result of things, was that *Monsieur*, (the Duke of *Alanson*, onely Brother of the King) and the King of *Navarre*, detain'd at Court, and not very favourably treated, having made their escape; the first of them, who, besides his own followers, was joyn'd by a considerable part of *Damville's* Troops, put himself at the head of the Protestant Army, which was at the same time reinforc'd by the conjunction of great Succours of *Reyters* and *Lansquenets*, whom the Prince of *Conde* had brought from *Germany*, under the conduct of *John Casimir*, second Son to *Frederick* the Elector *Palatine*. So that in the general Muster which was made of them near *Moulins* in *Bourbonnois*, their Forces were found to consist of thirty five thousand experienc'd Souldiers, which power 'tis most certain, the King was in no condition to resist, in that miserable Estate, to which he had reduc'd himself, by the prodigious change he had made, in his conduct and his carriage, immediately after his succeeding to the Crown of *France*.

He

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He was no longer that Victorious *Ann. 1576.*  
Duke of *Anjou*, who had gain'd in the world so high a reputation, by so many gallant actions perform'd by him, in commanding the Armies of the King his Brother, in quality of his Lieutenant General through the whole Kingdom; but as if in assuming the Crown of the first and most ancient Monarchy of Christendom, he had despoil'd himself at the same moment, by some fatal enchantment, of his Royal perfections, he plung'd himself into all the delights of a most ignominious idleness, with his favourites and Minions, who were the Bloud-suckers, the Harpyes, and the scandal of all *France*, which he seem'd to have abandon'd to their pillage by the immensity of his prodigality. After this he render'd himself equally odious and contemptible to his Subjects, both of the one Religion and the other, by his inconstant, and fantastique manner of procedure. For he ran sometimes from the extremity of debauchery into a fit of Religion, with processions and exercises of Penance, which were taken for Hypocrisie, and then again,  
from

Ann. 1575.

from Devotion into Debauchery, as the present humour carried him away, and busied himself in a thousand mean employments unworthy, I say, not of a King but of a man of common sense. All which *Davila* the Historian, after his manner of drawing every thing into design and Mystery, though at the expence of Truth, has endeavour'd to pass upon us, for so many effects of a subtile, and over-refin'd policy. In conclusion, to discharge himself of the burthen of Royalty, which was grown wholly insupportable to him in that lazy effeminate sort of Life, he relinquish'd all the cares of Government to the Queen his Mother, who to continue him in that humour, and by consequence to make her self absolute Mistrefs of affairs (which was always her predominant passion,) fail'd not to furnish him from time to time with new baits and allurements of voluptuousness, and all that was needfull for the shipwrack of vertue and honour, in a Court the most dissolute which had ever been beheld in *France*.

Since it therefore pleas'd the Queen that War shou'd be made against the  
*Huguenots*

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*Huguenots*, to infeeble them as much *Ann. 1575.*  
as was possible, that they might give  
no trouble to her management of Bu-  
siness; So also when she saw them  
strengthen'd with so formidable an  
Army, and her Son *Alanson* at their  
head, she began immediately to ap-  
prehend, that at length, making them-  
selves Masters, they might degrade  
her from that Authority, which she  
was so ambitious to retain, by what-  
soever means, and consequently she  
resolv'd to make a peace, for the same  
reasons, for which she undertook the  
War. And as she was undoubtedly  
the most subtile Woman of her time,  
and had so great an Ascendant over all  
her Children, that they were not able  
to withstand her, or to defend them-  
selves against her artifices, and with-  
all wou'd spare for nothing to compass  
her designs; she manag'd so dexte-  
rously the minds of the Princes, and  
cheif Officers of their Army, in gran-  
ting them with ease extraordinary  
Conditions, even such as were beyond  
their hope; that she conjur'd down  
the Tempest which was about to have  
been powr'd upon her head, and  
shelter'd

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shelter'd her self at the cost of our Religion, by the fifth Edict of Pacification, which was as advantageous to the *Huguenots* as they cou'd desire. To whom, amongst other privileges was allow'd the free exercise of their pretended Religion in all the Cities of the Kingdom, and in all other places, excepting onely the Court and *Paris*, and the compass of two Leagues about that City. This peace was infinitely distastefull to the *Catholiques*, because it serv'd for a pretence, and gave a favourable occasion to the birth of a design long time before premeditated, and hatch'd by him, who was the first Authour of that *League* whose History I write; and who began to lay the Foundations of it, precisely at this point of time, in that manner as shall immediately be related.

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'Tis certain that the first persons who were thus Associated, under pretence of Religion against their Sovereigns were the Protestants: Then when the Prince of *Conde* made himself their conceal'd head at the Conspiracy of *Amboise*; and afterwards overtly declar'd himself in beginning the

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the first troubles by the surprize of Or-  
*leans*. That League, ( which always *Ann. 1575.*  
was maintain'd by force of Arms, by  
places of caution and security, which  
upon constraint were granted to the  
*Huguenots*, and by the treasonable in-  
telligence they held with Strangers,  
even till the time wherein it was to-  
tally extinguish'd by the taking of  
*Rochell*, and of their other Cities, and  
fortified places, under the Reign of the  
late King of glorious memory,) ob-  
lig'd some *Catholiques* oftentimes, to  
unite themselves without the partici-  
pation of the King in certain Provin-  
ces; as particularly, in *Languedoc*,  
*Guyenne*, and *Poitou*, not onely to de-  
fend themselves against the encroach-  
ments of the *Huguenots*, but also to at-  
tack them, and to exterminate them,  
if they had been able, from all those  
places, of which they had possess'd  
themselves in those Provinces. But  
he who employ'd his thoughts at the  
utmost stretch in that affair, and  
was the first who invented the project  
of a General League amongst the *Ca-  
tholiques*, under another Head than  
the King, was the Cardinal of *Lor-  
rain*

*Ann. 1576.* rain, at that time assisting at the Council of *Trent*.

That Prince, whose name is so well known in History, and who had a most prompt and most piercing understanding, fiery by nature, impetuous, and violent, endu'd with a rare, natural eloquence, more learning than cou'd reasonably be expected from a Person of his Quality, and which his eloquence made appear to be much greater than it was; the boldest of any man alive in Councils, Cabals, and in Contrivance of daring and vast designs, was also the most pusillanimous and weakest man imaginable, when it came to the point of Execution, and that he saw there was danger in the undertaking: But above all, it cannot be denied, that through the whole series of his Life, he had a most immoderate passion for the greatness of his Family. Insomuch, that when he saw the great Duke of *Guise*, his Brother, at the highest point of glory after the Battel of *Dreux*, where it might be said that he was the safeguard of our Religion, which depended on that day's success, and that all the Council was

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was fill'd with the applause of that *Heroe*, for so memorable a Victory, which he had in a manner gain'd singly, after the defeat and taking of the Constable; he believ'd he had found the favourable occasion he so ardently desir'd, to satisfy his ambition to the full, by raising his Brother to that degree of Honour, in which he might enjoy a Supreme, and Independent Authority, equal to the power of the greatest Kings.

To this effect he was not wanting to represent to the Heads of that Assembly, and by them to the *Pope*, that for the support of Religion, against which the *Heretiques* made so cruel War, particularly in *France*, there was no better means, than to make a League into which shou'd enter all the Princes and great men whom they cou'd procure, and above all the rest the King of *Spain*, who was so powerfull, and so zealous for the *Catholique* Faith. He added, that it was necessary for the *Pope*, to declare himself the Protector of it, and to elect a Head of it in the Kingdom, on whose Piety, Prudence, Valour and Experience,

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ience,

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rience, all things might safely be re-  
pos'd; and whom all *Catholiques* shou'd  
be under an obligation to obey, till  
they had totally extirpated the *Hu-  
guenots*. This proposal was receiv'd  
with great applause; and as their  
minds in that juncture of time were  
wholly prepossess'd with a high cha-  
racter of the wise conduct, the perpet-  
tual felicity, and heroique vertues of  
the Victorious Duke of *Guise*, there  
was not the least scruple remaining  
for them to conclude, that he alone  
was fit to be the Head of so glorious  
an Undertaking. But the sad news of  
his Death, arriving in the very upshot  
of that project, made this great design  
to vanish; which the Cardinal, who  
never lost the imagination of it, nor  
the hope to make it succeed at some  
other time, was not able to bring in  
play again till about ten or eleven  
years after that accident: And then  
found the young Duke of *Guise*, *Henry  
of Lorrain*, his Nephew, both of age  
and of capacity, and intirely dispos'd  
to its accomplishment. For at that  
time he propos'd warmly the same de-  
sign to the *Pope*, and the King of  
*Spain*,

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*Spain*, who both enter'd without difficulty into his opinion ; though upon motives very different : The *Pope*, out of the ardent desire he had to see Heresie altogether exterminated from this most Christian Kingdom, and the *Spaniard*, out of a longing appetite to make his advantage of our divisions, and those great disorders, which he foresaw the League must inevitably cause in *France*.

The Duke also, on his side, who had much more ambition, and much less affection to the publique good, than his Father, embrac'd with all his Soul so fair an occasion as was thereby put into his hand, of raising himself immediately to so high a degree of Power and Authority, in becoming Head of a Party, which in all appearance wou'd ruine all the others, and give Law universally to *France*. But the Death of his Uncle the Cardinal, which happen'd at the same time, broke once more the measures of his ambitious design, which notwithstanding he never did forsake, as being fully resolv'd to put it into execution, on the first opportunity which shou'd be

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offer'd.

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offer'd. This he cou'd not find, till two years afterwards, when *Don John* of *Austria* pass'd through *France*, to take possession of his government of the Low Countries. That Prince who travell'd *incognito*, and had already made a secret correspondence with the Duke of *Guise*, saw him at *Joinville*, where after some conferences which they had together, without other witness, than *John d' Escovedo*, Secretary to *Don John*, they made a Treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, mutually to assist each other to their utmost Abilities, with their Friends, their Power, and Forces, to render themselves absolute; the first in his government of the *Neatherlands*, the second in that party, which he always hop'd to form in *France*, according to the project of his Uncle, under pretence of maintaining the *Catholique* Religion in *France* against the *Huguenots*.

Though Historians are silent of this Treaty, I suppose, notwithstanding, that it is undoubtedly true, considering what Monsieur *de Peiresc*, (a name so celebrated by the learned) has written

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ten concerning it in his memoires; *Ann. 1576.*  
which was ground on what was related to him by Monsieur *du Vair*, who had it from *Antonio Perez*.

For that famous Confident of the Amours betwixt *Philip* the second, and the fair Princess of *Eboli*, acknowledg'd freely to President *du Vair*, that to revenge himself of unfortunate *Escovedo*, who at his return to *Spain* would have ruin'd him in the favour of the King, he gave him so well to understand, that this Secretary of *Don John* was intrusted with all his most secret designs against the State, and that having discover'd the love of the King his Master, he travers'd his amorous intrigue, to serve the Prince of *Eboli*, on whom he had dependance, that *Philip* who made not the least scruple to rid himself of any one whom he suspected (as having not spar'd even his Son *Don Carlos*) made him be assassinated. After which, having seiz'd his Papers, he there found this private Treaty, together with the memoires and instructions, containing the whole foundation, and all the minutes of this project, with the means which the

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Duke of *Guise* intended to make use of, to make his Enterprife succeed; of which that King, who made advantage of every thing, most dexterously serv'd himself long time after, to engage the Duke so deeply in his Interests, that he was never able to disentangle himself, as the sequel will declare. But in the mean time, that Peace so advantageous to the Protestants, being made in the manner above mention'd; the Duke beleiv'd, he had now a fair occasion to begin (by making use of the discontents of the *Catholiques*,) the forming of that *League*, of which he intended afterwards to declare himself the Head. How he manag'd that affair, is next to be related.

Amongst the secret Articles of that Peace, so favourable to the *Huguenots*, there was one, by which the Prince of *Conde* had granted to him the full possession of the Government of *Picardy*; and besides it, for his farther security, the important City of *Peronne*, the Garrison of which, shou'd be maintain'd at the King's expence. The Governour of *Peronne*, at that time, was

was *Jaques*, Lord of *Humieres*, *Encre*, *Ann. 1576.*  
*Bray*, and many other places, who by  
other large possessions of his own, and  
the Governments of *Roye*, and of *Mont-*  
*didier*, added to *Peronne*, was with-  
out dispute the most considerable, the  
wealthiest, and most powerfull Lord  
of all *Picardy*. Besides, that being of  
an illustrious Birth, and Son of the  
Wife and Valiant *John d' Humieres*,  
( who had been Lieutenant of the King  
in *Piemont*, and Governour to King  
*Henry the Second*, ) he was respected,  
lov'd and obey'd in that Province,  
where he was in a manner absolute,  
both by the great Authority of his own  
merit, and that which was deriv'd to  
him from his Father.

This Nobleman, having formerly  
been ill us'd by the Lords of *Montmo-*  
*rency*, then in power; and having  
been hinder'd by them, from entring  
into possession of a fair Inheritance,  
which he claim'd, as rightfully belong-  
ing to him, had put himself into the  
interests of the former great Duke of  
*Guise*, a declar'd Enemy of the *Hugue-*  
*nots*. And that Prince, to bind more  
firmly to his party, to the cause of Re-  
ligion,

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ligion, and to his Family, a Person so considerable, had procur'd him to be Knight of the order of St. *Michael*, at that famous promotion which was made by *Francis* the Second, on the Feast of St. *Michael*, in the year 1560. Infomuch that the young Duke of *Guise* doubted not, that the concernment which this Lord had to maintain himself in the Government of *Peronne*, join'd in the present posture of affairs with zeal, either true or apparent, for Religion, and the particular obligations he had to the House of *Guise*, would render him capable to be dispos'd of absolutely, in the execution of that high enterprize, on which he was himself resolv'd; it seeming to him that he cou'd never expect a better opportunity, and that all things were conspiring in his favour.

In effect there was nothing wanting that cou'd possibly concur, either of good or ill, to make that succeed, which he had resolv'd so firmly for two years together; and which in process of time was capable of raising him to a higher pitch of greatness, than at present he cou'd possibly conceive,

ceive, how vast soever those *idea's* of power and authority were, with which he flatter'd his ambitious imagination. He was a Prince, at that time, in the flower and vigour of his age, which was about thirty years ; furnish'd with all those admirable qualities and perfections both of Soul and Body, which are most capable of charming the Hearts, and acquiring an absolute empire over the Souls of the people, who were even enchanted with his graces, and almost idoliz'd his person. For he was tall of Stature, excellently well proportion'd, altogether resembling what is commonly attributed to *Heroes*; having the features of his face of a Masculine Beauty, his Eyes sparkling and full of Fire, but whose lively and piercing motion was temper'd with a certain kind of sweetness. His forehead large, smooth, and at all times serene, accompanied with an agreeable smile of his mouth, which charm'd even more than those obliging words, of which he was not sparing to those who press'd about him ; his complexion lively, white and red ; and which at honourable Scar remaining of the

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the wound he had receiv'd by a Pistol Bullet on his left Cheek, (when he defeated a party of the *Reiters* of *Casimir*, which *William de Montmorency*, *Sieur de Thore*, conducted to the Duke of *Alanson*,) heightn'd to much more advantage, than all the ornaments which the vanity of Women has invented to add a lustre to their Beauty. His walk was grave and stately; yet neither Pride nor affectation appear'd in it. In all his Garb there was a certain inexpressible air of heroique greatness, which was made up of sweetness, audacity and a noble haughtiness, without any thing of shocking, or ungracefull in his whole composition. Which, altogether, inspir'd a mixture of love, of awe, and of respect into his conversation.

This admirable outside was animated with an inside yet more wonderful, by reason of those excellent qualities which he possess'd, of a Soul that was truly great; being liberal, magnificent in all things, sparing nothing to make Dependents, and to gain persons of all sorts of conditions; but principally the Nobility, and the Soldiers;

diers; civil, obliging, popular, always ready to doe good to those who address'd themselves to him; generous, magnanimous, not to be mov'd to injure any man; no not to hurt even his greatest Enemies, but by honourable ways; extremely perswasive in discourse, disguising his thoughts, when he appear'd most open; wise and prudent in his Counsells, bold, prompt and valiant in the execution of them, chearfully enduring all the hardships of War, in common with the meanest Soldier, exposing his person, and contemning the greatest dangers, to compass what he had once determin'd. But that which gave the greatest lustre to so many noble qualities, was the quite contrary of all these, in the person of the King; who, by his ill conduct, rather than his ill fortune, had lost the affection of the greatest part of *France*, and chiefly of the *Parisians*, which by the highest disorder, that cou'd possibly happen in a State, was already transferr'd to him, who, from his subject began openly to appear his Rival, in the thing of the World, whereof Monarchs are, and ought to be, most jealous.

But

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But as there is no Mine of Gold, where the pretious Metal is so wholly pure, as to be found unmix'd with common Earth, so were these great natural endowments of the Duke of *Guise* debas'd by the mixture of many imperfections and vices; of which the principal was the insatiable desire of greatness and of glory, and that vast Ambition, to which he made all other things subservient. Besides which, he was rash, presumptuous, self-conceited, wedded to his own opinions, and despising the advice of others, (though that more covertly,) subtil, unsincere, no true friend, but centring all things in his own interest; though he appear'd the most obliging and the most officious of all men, yet the good he did, was onely in order to himself, always covering his vast designs, by the specious pretence of publique good, and the preservation of the true Religion: too much confiding in his own good fortune, loosing and hoodwincking himself in his prosperity, which gave him such a gust of the present pleasure, that he cou'd not think of taking his pre-

precautions for the future; to conclude, giving up himself too much to the love of Women, of whom nevertheless, without their being able to divert him from the care he took of his great concern, he dextrously made use to advance it by their means and without their knowing that they were his Instruments. Yet in spite of all these vices, which were indeed most subtly manag'd, or disguis'd under the most fair appearances, and veil'd with a profound dissimulation, his vertues at the same time glittering, and blazing over all the World, he was universally ador'd and lov'd, particularly by the *Parisians*; and even they, who knowing him at the bottom cou'd not love him, yet cou'd not hinder themselves from admiring him; which doubtless is a most uncommon thing, that a man shou'd be able at the same time, to deserve and gain the peoples love, and the admiration of those who were so clear sighted, as to discover his imperfections and vices.

Such was the famous Duke of *Guise*, whom that amiable mark of the Pistol

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tol Bullet, which as I said he receiv'd in defeating some Troops of *Calvinists* and Rebels, caus'd to be surnam'd, *THE SCARR'D*. And who, in those times, of which I Write, found all things sufficiently dispos'd to the execution of his enterprize. For he found the *Catholiques* provok'd to his hand, by those advantages which newly were granted to the *Huguenots*, the people dissatisfi'd, and weary of the Government, not able to endure, that the wealth of the Nation shou'd be squander'd on the King's Favourites, whom they called the Minions: the genius of Queen *Catharine*, pleas'd with troubles, and even procuring them to render her self necessary, to the end that recourse might be had to her for Remedies; the Princes of the bloud become suspected and odious to the three orders of the Kingdom, either for favouring the *Huguenots*, or for being publicly declar'd *Calvinists*, thereby renouncing the *Catholique* faith, as the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* had openly done; the King falln into the contempt of his Subjects, after having  
lost

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lost their love; himself, on the contrary, lov'd and ador'd by the people, worship'd by the *Parisians*, follow'd by the Nobility, indear'd to the Soldiers, having in his Interests all the Princes of his Family, powerfull in Offices and Governments, the multitude of his Creatures, whom his own generosity, and that of his Father, had acquir'd him; the favour of the *Pope*, the assistance of the *Spaniard*, ready at hand to bear him up, and above all the seeming Justice of his cause, which he industriously made known to all the world, to be that of Religion alone, whereof, in the general opinion, he was the Protectour and the Pillar; and for the maintenance of which it was believ'd, that he had devoted himself against the *Huguenots*, who had enterpriz'd to abolish it in the Kingdom. But the last motive which fix'd his resolution, was the extreme rancour he had against the King, one of whose intimate Confidants he had been formerly, and who had now abandon'd him, by changing on the sudden the whole manner of his Conduct, and giving himself entirely up  
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to his Minions, who omitted no occasion of using the Duke unworthily: For disdain, which is capable of hurrying to the last extremities the greatest Souls, and the most sensible in point of Honour, made hatred to succeed his first inclinations against him whom already he despis'd; and hatred and contempt being joyn'd with Ambition, incessantly push'd him forwards, to make himself the head of a Party so powerfull as that of the *League*, which pass'd for Holy in the minds of the people, and to avail himself of so fair an opportunity to form it.

For this effect, he immediately caus'd a project to be formally drawn, which his Emissaries shou'd endeavour to spread about the Kingdom amongst those *Catholiques* who appear'd the most zealous and most simple, and those who were known to be the most addicted to the House of *Guise*: in this Breviate which they were oblig'd to subscribe, they promis'd by Oath, to obey him who shou'd be elected head of that holy Confederacy, which was made for maintaining of the *Catholique*

*tholique* Religion, to cause due obedience to be render'd to the King and his Successours, yet without prejudice to what shou'd be ordain'd by the three Estates, and to restore the Kingdom to its original Liberties, which it enjoy'd under the Reign of *Clovis*.

At the first there were found few Persons of Quality, and substantial Citizens of *Paris*, who wou'd venture to subscribe to that Association, because it was not precisely known, who wou'd dare to declare himself the Head of it: besides, that by the vigilance of the first President *Christopher de Thou*, it was first discover'd, then dissipated, and at last dissolv'd with ease, withall those secret Assemblies, which were already held in several quarters of the Town for entring such persons into that infant *League*, whom either their Malice, their false Zeal, or their Simplicity cou'd ingage. But the Duke of *Guise* having sent his project to the *Sieur d'Humieres*, of whom he held himself assur'd, that Lord, (who besides his obligation to the House of *Guise*, had also his particular interest, and that of no less Consequence than

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the maintaining himself in his Government of *Peronne*; which was taken from him by the Edict of *May*, and that important place, order'd to be put into the hands of the Prince of *Conde*,) manag'd the affair so well, by the credit he had in that Province, that, as the *Picards* have always been zealous for the ancient Religion, he ingag'd almost all the Towns, and all the Nobility of *Picardy* to declare openly, that they wou'd not receive the Prince of *Conde*, because as it was urg'd in the *Manifesto*, which was publish'd to justifie their refusal of him, that they certainly knew he was resolv'd to abolish the Catholique Faith, and establish *Calvinism* throughout all *Picardy*.

'Tis most certain that they wou'd never be induc'd to receive that Prince into *Peronne*, or any other part of that Government; and that to maintain themselves against all those who wou'd undertake to oblige them by force, to observe that Article of the Peace, which they never wou'd accept, the *Picards* were the first to receive, by common agreement, and to publish in *Peronne* the Treaty of the League, in twelve Articles,

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Articles, in which the most prudent of the *Catholiques* themselves, together with the Illustrious President *Christopher de Thou*, observ'd many things which directly shock'd the most Holy Laws both Divine and Humane.

For 'tis obvious in the first Article, that the Catholique Princes, Lords and Gentlemen, invoking the name of the Holy Trinity, make an Association and League, offensive and defensive, betwixt themselves, without the permission, privity, or consent of their King, and a King who was a Catholique as well as they; which is directly opposite to the Law of God, who ordains that Subjects should submit themselves, and be united to their Sovereign, as members to their Head: even though he shou'd exceed his bounds and be a Tyrant, provided that there be no manifest sin, in what they are commanded to obey.

In the second, they refuse to render obedience to the King, unless it be conformable to the Articles which shall be presented to him by the States, which it shall not be lawfull for him to contradict; or to act any thing in prejudice

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of them. 'Tis evident that this overthrows the constitution of the Monarchy, to establish in its place a certain kind of Aristocracy, against one of our fundamental Laws, which ordains that the States shou'd have onely a deliberative voice for the drawing up of their Petitions into Bills, and then to present them with all humility to the King, who examines them in his Council, and afterwards passes what he finds to be just and reasonable. They give not Law to him, who is their Master, and their Head, as the Electours of the Empire, by certain capitulations do to the Emperours of *Germany*, who are indeed the Heads, but not the Masters of the Empire; but, on the contrary they receive it from their King, to whom they onely make most humble Addresses, in the Bills which they present to him.

In the third Article the Associates assume to themselves, to be Masters of the State, while under pretence of reforming it, they ridiculously take upon them to abrogate the Laws observ'd by our Ancestours, in the second and third race of our Kings, and wou'd establish

establish the customes and usances, which were practis'd in the time of *Clouis*: which is just the same thing that certain Enthusiasts sometimes have attempted in the Church, who under the specious names of the Reform'd and Primitive Church, endeavour'd to revive some ancient Canons, which now for many ages have not been observ'd; and gave themselves the liberty to condemn the practices, and customes authoriz'd by the Church, of remisness, and abuse; since it belongs onely to the Church, according to the diversity of times, and of occasions, to make new regulations, in its Government and Discipline, without touching the capital points, that relate to the Essentials of Religion.

To conclude, from the fourth Article to the twelfth, there are visible all the marks, and the foulest characters of a Rebellion, form'd and undertaken against their Prince, particularly where there is promis'd an exact obedience in all things, to the Head, whom they shall elect; and that they will employ their lives and fortunes in his service; that in all Provinces they will levy

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Souldiers, and raise money, for the support of the common cause; and that all those who shall declare themselves against the League, shall be vigorously prosecuted by the Associates, who shall revenge themselves without exception of person; which in the true meaning, is no other thing, than the setting up a second King in *France* in opposition to the first; against whom they engag'd themselves to take Arms in these terrible words, *without exception of person*, in case he should go about to hinder so criminal an usurpation of his Royal Authority.

Such was the Copy of the League, in those twelve Articles which were Printed and dispers'd through all Christendom, as we are inform'd by an Authour who was contemporary to it; and has given it at large, in his History of the War under *Henry* the Fourth: But being conceiv'd in certain terms which are too bold, and which manifestly shock the Royal Majesty, *Monsieur d'Humieres* a prudent man, reduc'd them into a form, incomparably less odious, in which preserving the Essentials of the League, of which he

he was Head in *Picardy*, he appears, notwithstanding, to do nothing, but by the authority, and for the service of the King.

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Now as it is extremely important to understand throughly this Treaty of *Peronne*, from which the League had its beginning, which is not to be found in any of our Authours, and the Original of which I have, as it was sign'd by almost two hundred Gentlemen, and after them, by the Magistrates, and Officers of *Peronne*; I thought I shoud gratifie my Readers by communicating to them a piece so rare and so Authentique, which has luckily fallen into my hands. They will be glad to see in it the *Genius*, the reach, and the policy of that dextrous Governour, and Lieutenant to the King, who in declaring himself Head of the League in his Province, and procuring it to be sign'd by so great a number of Gentlemen, took so much care to make it manifest, at least in appearance, that he intended always to give to *Cæsar* what belong'd to *Cæsar*, and that the Imperial rights should be inviolably preserv'd in that Treaty. For

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they protest in all their Articles, and that with all manner of respect in the most formal terms, that nothing shall be done, but with his good liking, and by his Orders, though in pursuance of this, all things were manag'd to a quite contrary end. But it frequently happens that men engage themselves with an honest meaning, and are led by motives of true zeal, in some affairs; whereof they foresee not the dangerous consequences, which produce such pernicious effects, as never enter'd into their first imagination.

Behold then, this Treaty in eighteen Articles, together with the subscriptions of the Gentlemen and Officers, whereof some are written in such awkward Characters, and so little legible, that I could never have unriddled them, without the assistance of a person very skillfull in that difficult art of deciphering all sorts of ancient writing. I mean *Don John Hericart* an ancient man in Holy Orders, of the Abbey of *St. Nicholas aux Bois in Picardy*; who having labour'd to place in their due order, and to copy out the Titles and Authentique pieces of many ancient Monas-

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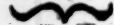
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Monasteries, applies himself at present, by permission from my Lord Bishop of *Laon* his superiour, to a work so necessary in the Treasury of *Chartres*, and in the famous Library of the Abbey Royal of *St. Victor of Paris*, where he has found wherewithall to exercise the talent of the most knowing, on a great number of Titles, of more than six hundred years standing, and above three thousand Manuscripts, of the rarest and most Ancient sort, which compose the most pretious part of that excellent and renowned Library. 'Tis then to this man's industry that I am owing for this piece; and to deal sincerely, so as not to pass my conjectures on the Reader for solid truths, I have left Blanks for two of their names, because the letters which compos'd them, cou'd never be certainly distinguish'd.

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The *Association*, made betwixt the Princes, Lords, Gentlemen and others, as well of the State Ecclesiastique, as of the Noblesse and third Estate, Subjects and Inhabitants of the Countrey of *Picardy*.

**I**n the Name of the Holy Trinity, and of the Communication of the precious body of Jesus Christ. We have promis'd and sworn upon the Holy Gospels, and upon our Lives, Honours, and Estates to pursue, and keep inviolably the things herein agreed, and by us subscribed, on pain of being for ever declared forsworn and infamous, and held to be men unworthy of all Gentility and Honour.

First of all, it being known, that the great practices and Conspiracies, made against the honour of God, the Holy Catholick Church, and against the Estate and Monarchy of this Realm

Realm of France, as well by some Subjects of the same as by Foreigners, and the long and continual wars and Civil divisions have so much weakened our Kings and reduced them to such necessity, that it is no longer possible for them of themselves to sustain the expence convenient and expedient for the preservation of our Religion, nor hereafter to maintain us under their protection in surety of our persons, families, and fortunes, in which we have heretofore received so much loss and damage.

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We have judged it to be most necessary and seasonable, to render, in the first place, the honour which we owe to God, to the manutention of our Catholique Religion, and even to shew our selves more affectionate for the preservation of it, than such as are strayed from the good Religion, are for the advancement of a new and false opinion.

And to this effect, we swear and promise, to employ our selves with all our powers to restore and to maintain the exercise of our said Catholique, Apostolique and Roman Religion, in  
which

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which we and our Predecessours have  
 been educated, and in which we resolve  
 to live and die.

And we swear and promise also all  
 obedience, honour and most humble  
 service, to King Henry now reigning,  
 whom God has given us for our So-  
 vereign King and Lord, lawfully cal-  
 led, by the Law of the Kingdom, to  
 the succession of his Predecessours, and  
 after him to all the Posterity of the  
 House of Valois, and others who after  
 those of the said house of Valois, shall  
 be called by the Law of the Realm to  
 the Crown.

And upon the obedience and service  
 which we are obliged by all manner of  
 rights to render to our said King Hen-  
 ry now reigning, we farther promise to  
 employ our lives and fortunes, for the  
 preservation of his Authority, and exe-  
 cution of such commandments, as by  
 him and his Lieutenant Generals or  
 others having power from him, shall  
 be made to us, as well for maintain-  
 ing the onely exercise of the Catho-  
 lique, Apostolique and Roman Religi-  
 on in France, as for bringing to reason  
 and full submission his Rebellious  
 Subjects

Subjects; without acknowledging any other whomsoever, than himself, and such as shall be by him set in command over us.

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And forasmuch as by the goodness of our said King and Sovereign Lord, it hath pleased him to doe so much good to all his Subjects of his Realm, as to convoke them to a general Assembly of all the Orders and Estates of it, thereby to understand all the complaints and grievances of his said Subjects, and to make a good and holy Reformation of the abuses and disorders which have continued of a long time in the said Realm, hoping that God will give us some good resolutions, by the means of so good and great an Assembly, we promise, and swear to employ our lives and fortunes, for the entire performance of the Resolution of the said Estates; in that especially which shall depend on the retention of our Catholique, Apostolique and Roman Religion, the preservation of the greatness and authority of our King, the good and quiet of our Countrey, all of this notwithstanding, without prejudice to our Liberties

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berties and ancient Franchises, which we understand to be always maintain'd and preserv'd fully and entirely.

And farther to the effect abovesaid, all of us who have hereunto subscrib'd, promise to keep our selves in a readiness, well arm'd, mounted, and accompanied according to our Qualities, immediately upon advertisement given us, to put in Execution that which shall be commanded on the part of the King our said Sovereign Lord, by his Lieutenant Generals, or others having from him Power and Authority, as well for the preservation of our Province, as for going otherwhere, if it be needfull for the preservation of our said Religion, and service of his said Majesty.

Without its being lawfull or permitted to Gentlemen, to place themselves or take employment under other Cornets, than those of the Head, or the Baily-works, in which they shall be resident, unless by permission and leave of the King, or his Lieutenant, or at least of the Head Elect of the said Association, who is Monsieur de Humieres,

mieres, to whom we promise to render all honour and obedience. *Anno 1577.*

To the Council (or assistance) of whom shall be be call'd and employ'd, six of the Principal Gentlemen of the Province, and others of quality and fidelity requisite, with the advice of whom, to provide for the execution of the said matters, for the expence, entertainment, and other charges, convenient and necessary for such effect, according as the said Countrey can furnish and supply.

For which said Countrey we offer for such effect, even to the number of four Cornets, men on horseback, well mounted and arm'd, and eleven Ensigns of Foot, as well for preservation of the said Province, as to be elsewhere employed as need shall be; yet no ways comprehending the Companies of the old establishment, in consideration that they are obliged to serve elsewhere. So that for every of the said Companies, be they Horse or Foot, three Gentlemen of the Countrey, men of valour and experience shall be named to the King's Lieutenant, or to him who shall be impow-

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impower'd for that purpose from his Majesty, out of the said thre, to make election and choice of one.

And because such Levies cannot be made without great costs and expenses; and that it is most just in such an Emergency, and necessity, to employ all means, which are in the power of any man, there shall be levied and collected upon the Countrey the sums of money convenient and necessary for this, by the advice of the King's Lieutenant, or other empower'd from his Majesty, which he shall afterwards be petition'd, to authorize and make valid, as being for an occasion so holy and so express, as is the service of God, and that of his said Majesty: in which levying of Money, nevertheless, no Gentlemen ate or shall be meant to be comprehended, considering that they will do personal service; or set out Men with Horses and Arms, according as it shall be ordain'd for them to doe by the Head of the League, or by others deputed by him.

And for the more easie execution of the said employments, there shall be in every

every Bailly-wick or Seneschals Court of the said Countrey, deputed, one or two Gentlemen, or others of capacity and fidelity requisite, to give information of the means, and understand particularly upon the places, that which shall be needfull to be done, to report it afterwards, and instruct concerning it, those who shall be employed by the Governour, or Lieutenant from the King, or some other in power'd from him.

And if any of the said Catholiques of the said Province, after having been requir'd to enter into the present Association, shall make difficulty, or use delays, considering that it is onely for the honour of God, the service of the King, the good and quiet of our Countrey, he shall be held in all the Province for an Enemy of God, and a Desertour of his Religion, a Rebel to his King, a betrayer of his Countrey, and by common agreement and consent of all good men, shall be abandon'd by all, and left, and expos'd to all injuries and oppressions which can come upon him, without ever being receiv'd into company, friendship and  
E alliance



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alliance of the underwritten Associates and Confederates; who have all promis'd friendship and good intelligence amongst themselves, for the maintenance of their Religion, service of the King, and preservation of their Countrey, with their Persons, Fortunes, and Families.

We promise, farthermore, to keep one another, under the obedience and authority of his Majesty, in all surety and quiet, and to preserve and defend our selves from all oppression of others. And if there shall happen any difference or quarrel amongst us, it shall be compos'd by the Lieutenant General of the King, and those who by him shall be called, who shall cause to be executed, under the good pleasure and Authority of his said Majesty that which shall be advis'd to be just and reasonable for our reconciliation.

And in case it be advis'd for the service of the King, the good and quiet of the said Province and to compass the ends of our intentions, that it be necessary to hold correspondence with other neighbouring Provinces, we promise to succour and aid them, with all our power

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power and means, in such manner as shall be order'd by the Lieutenant of the King, or other having power from his Majesty.

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And we also promise to employ our selves with all our power and means to preserve and keep the State Ecclesiastique from all oppression and injury, and if by way of action or otherwise, any one attempts to doe them damage, be it in their persons or their goods, to oppose such person, and defend them, as being united and Associated with them, for the defence and preservation of the Honour of God and our Religion.

And because it is not our intention any ways to molest those of the new opinion, who will contain themselves from enterprizing any thing against the Honour of God, the Service of the King, the good and quiet of his Subjects, we promise to preserve them, without their being any ways put in trouble for their Consciences, or molested in their persons, goods, honours and families, Provided that they do not contravene in any sort, that which shall be by his Majesty ordain'd,

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after

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after the conclusion of the General Estates, or any thing whatsoever of the said Catholique Religion.

And forasmuch as this cause ought to be common indifferently to all persons who make profession to live in the Catholique Religion; we the Underwritten, admit and receive into the present Union all persons placed in Authority, and Estate of Judicature and Justice, Corporations of Towns, and Commonalties of the same, and generally all others of the third Estate, living Catholiquely, as it hath been said, promising in like manner to maintain, preserve and keep them from all violence and oppression, be it in their persons or their goods, every one in his quality and vocation.

We have promised and sworn to keep these Articles abovesaid; and to observe them from point to point, without ever contravening them, and without having regard to any friendship, kindred and alliance, which we may have to any person, of any quality and Religion whatsoever, who shall oppose or break the Commandments and Ordinances of the King,  
the

the good and quiet of this Kingdom, and in like manner to keep secret the present Association, without any communication of it, or making any person whomsoever privy to it, but onely such as shall be of the present Association; The which we will swear, and affirm also upon our Consciencs, and Honours, and under the penalties here abovementioned: The whole under the Authority of the King; renouncing all other Associations; if any have ben heretofore made.

J. Humieres.	Loys de Belloy.
L. Chaulnes.	A. du Caurel.
F. de Poix.	Pierre de Trouville.
A. de Monchy.	A. Ravye.
S. de Monchy.	J. de Baynaft.
De Payllart.	De Callonne.
Mailly.	De Lancry.
Anthonie de Gouy.	F. d' Aumalle.
Loys de Querecques.	A. de La Riviere.
Louis d' Estournel.	A. de Humieres.
Adrian de Boufflers.	Du Biez.
F. de St. Blymond.	Lameth.
De Rouveroy.	F. Ramerelle.
Jehan de Baynaft.	Boncourt.
L. de Warluzer.	De Glify.
C. de Trerquefinen.	A. du Hamel.
Philippes de Marle.	De Prouville.
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	L. de

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L. de Valpergue.	Du Plaffier.
Raul de Ponquet.	Nicholas de Lontines.
L. de Margival.	N. de St. Blymon.
De Lauzeray.	J. d' Amyens.
M. Relly.	De Forceville.
Francois Hanicque.	De Monthomer.
J. de Belloy.	P. de Bernettz.
Claude d' Ally.	De Rambures.
Loys de Festart.	F. d' Acheu.
Du Chastellet.	Flour de Baynaft.
P. de Maillefeu.	Ogier de Maintenant.
Charles de Croy.	F. de Bacouel.
N. Le Roy.	De Pende.
Jehan du Bos.	D. Aumalle.
N. de la Warde.	Montoyvry.
V. de Brioyoys.	De Sailly.
Claude de Bury.	Afeuillers.
J. Lamire.	Francois de Conty.
Dessoffes.	O. de Poquefolle.
N. de Amerval.	Sainte Maure.
Philippes de Toigny.	De Rambures.
Guy Damiette.	Claude de Crequy.
Jehap de Flavigny.	Jacque d' Ally.
N. de Hangeft.	Adrien de Jrin.
De Forceville.	Jherosme de Fertin.
P. de Canry.	Le Caron.
Charles d' Offay.	De Montehuyot.
J. de Belleval.	P. de La Roche.
A. de La Chapelle.	R. de Mailly.
Loys d' Ancbont.	J. de Forceville.
P. Truffier.	La Gualterye.
J. de Senicourt.	N. de la Vieufville.
De Mons.	A. de la Vieufville.

A. de

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A. de Mercatel.	P. de Saint Deliz.
De Perrin.	Heilly.
De Milly.	J. de Belloy.
Josse de Saveuses.	A. de Biencourt.
Jehan de Bernetz.	Jehan de Biencourt.
A. de Boves.	Claude de Pontaine.
Jehan d'Estourmal.	De Nointel.
E. de St. Omer.	Pierre de Bloletieri.
Belleforiere.	Adrian Picquet.
Antoine d'Ardre.	Anthoine Le Blond.
De la Vieufville.	Jehan Picquet.
A. de Monchy.	Le Grand.
J. de Maulde.	De Bafincourt.
J. de la Pasture.	Augustin d'Auxy.
L. Du Moulin.	J. de Verdellot.
A. du Quesnoy.	E. Tassart.
J. de Milly.	J. de Montain.
Francois de Saveuses.	Genvoys.
De Lauzeray.	Du Menil.
Loys de Moy.	J. Dey.
J. de Hallencourt.	J. Tassart.
De Sainte Anne.	Assévillers.
De Villers.	Charles de Pontaine.
J. de Happlaincourt.	Du Breulle.
A. de Broye.	De Hauteville.
Claude de Warfufell.	A. de Mousquet.
Jehan de Caron.	J. du Nas.
Charles de Caron.	Sebastien de Hangre.
A. De Lameth.	J. de la Motte.
A. de Camouffon.	De Hacqueville.
M. Destourmel.	A. Noyelle.
Anthoine de Hamel.	C. de Pas.
Gilles de Boffles.	

E 4

Charles

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	Saint Leu Simon.	Du Caurell.
	Du Castel.	De Sericourt.
	Francois du Castel.	Du Mefnis.
	A. de Prolly.	De Cambray.
	A. de Estourmel.	A. de Lancry.
	A. de L' Orme	Du Puids.
	Jehan du Bosc.	Domons.
		A. de Bithify.
	Jehan de Bernetz.	De Marmicourt.
	De Louchart.	Berton.
	De Warmade.	Pierre Le Cat.

This day being the thirteenth of *February*, in the year one thousand five hundred seventy seven: We the Underwritten being congregated and Assembled, in *the Town-House of Peronne*, according to the appointment of the High and Puissant Lord, *Messire Jaques de Humieres*, Knight of the order of the King our Sovereign, Counsellour in his Privy Council, his Chamberlain in Ordinary, Captain of fifty men of Arms of the Establishment, Governour and Lieutenant for his Majesty, of *Peronne*, *Montdidier* and *Roye*, and Head of the Holy League and *Catholique* Association in *Picardy*, have to the said Lord made Oath, and Sworn

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Sworn upon the Holy *Evangelists*, to *Ann. 1577.*  
keep inviolably and punctually the  
Articles here above written, of the  
said Association and Holy *League*, and  
that for the Body and Inhabitants of  
the said Town, representing them:  
Done in the Chamber of the said  
Town the day, &c. abovesaid; and  
we have all sign'd it. *Claude Le Fevre*,  
Register of the said Town.

<i>L. Desmerliers.</i>	<i>Le Caron.</i>
<i>F. de Hen.</i>	<i>Le Saige.</i>
<i>L. Le Fevre.</i>	<i>Dudel.</i>
<i>F. Morel.</i>	<i>F. de La Motte.</i>
<i>De Flamicourt.</i>	<i>Le Fevre, Register.</i>

Whatsoever Resolution was taken to  
keep this Treaty secret, it was impos-  
sible to be long conceal'd being sign'd  
by so many men who were desirous  
to have Copies of it. Accordingly,  
there were found some both amongst  
the *Catholiques* and *Protestants*, who  
were not wanting to answer it publi-  
cely, endeavouring to make appear  
in their Writings, the injustice which  
they said was couch'd under those fair  
and specious protestations which they  
demonstrate



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demonstrate, particularly in this, that without the King's privity, there was made a Confederation and Association of many persons of all the Orders of the States, who combine themselves to reform the Abuses of it: That another Head of it was chosen, and not the King. That they bind themselves by a new invented Oath to that Head, and that they take upon them to make Levies of men and money. 'Tis without all manner of dispute, they say, that this directly strikes at the foundation of the Monarchy, if done without the expresse permission of the King, to whom onely it belongs to give out those orders which he judges to be necessary for the safety of the State, and the well being of his Subjects.

Moreover as great evils are commonly contagious, and that a dangerous Conspiracy is like Poison, which beginning from any little part, if Sword and Fire and violent Remedies be not immediately apply'd, and if the Scorpion be not crush'd upon the place which he has envenom'd, spreads it self swiftly through the whole body: thus the example of the *Picards* for

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for want of immediate acting with force and vigour, against the Authours of that tendency to Rebellion, was quickly follow'd in all the Provinces of the Kingdom, by many persons of all ranks and conditions, who under the fair pretence of Religion, inroll'd themselves covertly in the *League*. But he who most openly declar'd for it, was the Lord *Louis de Trimoüille* who was afterwards Governour of *Poitou*, and the *Païs d' Aunis*. For as he was most extremely incens'd against the *Huguenots*, who because he was not favourable to them, took all occasions of revenge upon him, and by frequent inrodes, had made spoil of his Estate, and was on very ill terms with the Count *de Lude*, Governour of that Province, and a faithfull Servant of the King; He fail'd not to take advantage of the occasion which was offer'd him, to be head of a powerfull party against them, and to declare himself for the *League*, into which he caus'd a great part of the Towns and Nobility, both of *Touraine* and of *Poitou*, to enter.

Thus

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Thus was the *League* fram'd, and became in a short time exceeding powerful; while the King who cou'd not possibly be ignorant of the designs and practices, or the dangerous consequences of it, either durst not, or wou'd not oppose it: whether it were that fatal drowsiness which oppress'd him, plung'd as he was in his delights, or the laziness of an unactive effeminate way of living, adverse from labour, and application to business; or were it that the Queen Mother who at that time was no other ways link'd to the *Guises*, than by her hatred to the *Huguenots*, who had endeavour'd to ruine her, made the King believe that he ought to serve himself of that *League*, to infeeble and abase them, by taking from them all those great advantages, which they had not obtain'd but through compulsion in the last Peace, so odious and insupportable to the *Catholiques*.

'Tis what was driven at and done in the first Estates, which were held at *Blois*; which began in the month of *November* the same year, 1576. The Protestants had importunately demanded

demand'd them, when the last Treaty was concluded ; not at all doubting as they were in conjunction with the *Politiques*, but that they should be the strongest, and that consequently they shou'd procure the Edict of *May* to be confirm'd, which was so favourable to them. But they were deceiv'd in their expectations, for it was found that by the management of the Queen Mother and the *Guises*, and by the Money which was distributed in the particular Assemblies of the Provinces, not onely that almost all the Deputies were *Catholiques*, but that also the greatest part of them were of the *League*. Insomuch that without regard to the protestations of the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, against the States ; and after the refusal, which those two Princes, and the Marshal *d' Amville*, Head of the *Politiques* had made, to assist in them, to which they had vigorously been solicited by a solemn deputation ; the Edict of *May* was finally revok'd, and prohibition made to all exercise of the pretended Reformation, and all the Ministers, and Directours were banish'd

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nish'd out of the Realm by a new Edict, till such time as they shou'd be converted. Behold in what manner the Protestants, who as yet were not apprehensive of the *League*, found by experience that it was stronger than their party in the Estates according as the King had hop'd it wou'd be.

But on the other side that Prince, immediately perceiv'd that it acted not with less artifice and vigour, to weaken his own authority, than to pull down the party of the *Huguenots*. For they had the impudence to demand of him that the Articles which shou'd be approv'd by the three Estates, shou'd pass into inviolable Laws, which it shou'd not be in his power to alter, and that for other Articles, concerning which the States cou'd not agree amongst themselves; his Majesty might be permitted to ordain, conformably to what shou'd be found just and reasonable, by the advice of the Princes of the blood, and twelve of the Deputies. Which to speak properly, was to devest the King of his Sovereign Power in making Ordinances

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dinances and Laws, and to transfer it to the States, according to the project of the *League*.

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This undoubtedly surpriz'd the King, but he was yet much more amaz'd when at the same time, there was shewn him the Memoires of one *David* an Advocate, which contain'd certain propositions the most villanous and detestable that can possibly be imagin'd.

For that Fellow who was onely a pitifull wretched Advocate, a Defender of the worst Causes, and such as were given for quite lost, lays down at the first for an undoubted Principle, " That the Benediction of *Popes*,  
" and principally that of *Stephen* the  
" Second, was bestow'd on the Race  
" of *Charlemain* alone, and not extend-  
" ed to that of *Hugh Capet*, an U-  
" surper of the Crown; And that on  
" the contrary, he by that Usurpation  
" has drawn on his Descendants those  
" Curses, the deplorable effects of  
" which have been seen in so many  
" Heresies; and above all others, in  
" that of the *Calvinists*, who have  
" laid waste the Kingdom by Civil  
" Wars

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“ Wars, which after the fruitless Vic-  
 “ tories gain’d against them, have been  
 “ succeeded by a Peace, most advan-  
 “ tageous to those Heretiques : that,  
 “ this notwithstanding, God Almighty  
 “ whose property it is to draw  
 “ good out of evil, has made use of  
 “ that extreme horror which all good  
 “ *Catholiques* have conceiv’d for that un-  
 “ happy Peace, to restore the Princes of  
 “ *Lorrain* to their rights, who are as that  
 “ Advocate pretends, and as the people  
 “ were made to believe, the true Poste-  
 “ rity of *Charlemain*. After this he  
 makes a fullsome panegyrique of them,  
 extolling them infinitely above the  
 Princes of the Bloud, against whom  
 he most satyrically declaims. Farther,  
 he proposes the means which ought to  
 be employ’d, to animate the people  
 against them, and to oppress them in  
 the States, as well as the *Huguénots* ;  
 advising that the King shou’d be  
 oblig’d to declare War against them,  
 and to give the command of his Arms  
 to the Duke of *Guise*. Then adds,  
 that when the Duke, who will quick-  
 ly have suppress’d and rooted out the  
*Huguénots*, shall have made himself  
 Master

Master of the principal Towns of the Kingdom; and that all things shall bend under the power of the *League*; he shall cause the process of *Monsieur*, the King's Brother to be made, as a manifest abetter of the *Huguenots*; and after having shav'd the King, and confin'd him to a Covent, he shall receive the Crown, with the benediction of the *Pope*; shall make the Council of *Trent* to be receiv'd, shall subject the *French*, without any restriction to the obedience of the Holy See, and abolish all the pretended liberties of the *Gallicane Church*.

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It must be acknowledg'd with all ingenuity, that it is not credible as some have vainly imagin'd, that the *Huguenots* forg'd those horrible *Memoires*, and caus'd them to be printed, to blacken and make odious the name of the *League* amongst all good *Catholiques*. For 'tis most certain that this Advocate, who hated mortally the *Huguenots*, by whom he had been ill us'd, and upon that account had entirely devoted himself to the *League*, undertook of his own head a Voyage to *Rome*, to carry thither those *Memoires*

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moires, and to present them to the Pope, in hopes to ingage him in that party; and that having been kill'd by some accident in his Journey, those papers were found in his Portmantue. Besides, that the Lord *John de Vivonne*, the King's Ambassadour in *Spain*, sent him a copy of them, assuring him that they had been shewn to King *Philip*. But in plain truth, there is great probability, that those Memoires were onely the product of the foolish crack'd brain'd Advocate, who being discompos'd by his passion discharg'd upon the paper all his furious imaginations and chimerique dreams, in forming this ridiculous project, which no man can reade, without discovering at the same time all the signs of a distracted mind.

The Duke though full of ambition, was not so weak to fall into the Snare of those extravagances; and if he were so haughty, as to soare in his imagination to the possession of a Crown, it was not till of a long time afterwards; and when he saw that *Mon-sieur* being dead, and the King without appearance of having any Children, the

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the succession was of course to fall on the King of *Navarre*, whom the Duke under pretence that the said King was a relaps'd *Heretique*, believ'd that he might easily cause to be excluded from the Crown, and that in his place he might himself obtain it.

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What I may lay down for a certain truth is, that there was never any piece so black, so malicious, and so gross as was that of a certain Protestant Writer, who has compil'd the *Memoires* of the *League*, and who wou'd have it, that those Articles which are contain'd in the miserable Writings of *David* the Advocate, were onely the extract of a secret Council held at *Rome*, in the Consistory, by *Pope Gregory* the thirteenth, to exterminate the Royal race, and to set the Princes of *Lorrain* upon the Throne. For it is so false, that this *Pope* who was always very prudent and moderate, shou'd doe any thing of that nature, that he constantly persisted in refusing to approve the *League*, whatever instance was made to him; though it was promis'd him, to ingage him by his interest, that they wou'd

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begin

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begin the execution of this great project, by chasing the *Huguenots* out of the County of *Avignon* and *Dauphine*, to take from them all means of troubling the possessions of the Church, and of passing into *Italy*: Nay farther, he repli'd to those who were plying him incessantly, and proposing the welfare and security of Religion, thereby to make him countenance the *League*, that it was in his opinion but a pretext, and that those who made it had other secret designs, which they had no mind to publish in the Articles of their Association.

In the mean time, those pernicious Memoires, with those impudent propositions of the *Associators*, induc'd the King to a strong apprehension, that the *League* was not form'd more against the *Huguenots*, than it was for the subversion of his Authority. And, as he wanted magnanimity of to take up a bold and generous resolution, of oppressing so dangerous a Faction in its infancy, which he might have perform'd; so to deliver himself from that formidable danger, he took indirect courses, and much unworthy of a King, following

following the timorous Counsels of the *Sieur de Morvillier*. That famous *John de Morvillier*, who was Bishop of Orleans, and afterwards *Garde de* \* *Sceaux* of France after the disgrace and retirement of the Chancellour *de l'Hospital*, was undoubtedly one of the greatest men of those times; and he who had the greatest credit and Authority in Council; generally valued, and belov'd, for his excellent qualities, and above all for the mildness of his temper, and his rare moderation, joyn'd with an exact prudence, and large capacity, not onely in the management of affairs, but also in all sorts of Sciences, proper for a man of his profession, and even in the studies of Humanity, Poetry and Eloquence.

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\* *Ld. Keeper.*

This he frequently made appear, in those excellent Speeches which he drew up for our Kings, and principally that which *Henry* the third pronounc'd with so much applause, in the first Estates, at *Blois*. For this reason he was extremely importun'd to write the History of his times, because it was the general belief that no man cou'd acquit himself of so noble an employ-

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ment, with so much eloquence, judgment and politeness as himself. But, as that Subject was not very favourable to the two last Kings, *Charles* the Ninth, and *Henry* under whom he liv'd, that on the one side, he was too generous, and too gratefull to write any thing, which might dishonour and blast the memory of those two Princes his Benefactors, and that on the other side, he was too sincere, and too honest to betray and suppress the truth, with any shamefull baseness, or to alter and corrupt it with mean flatteries, altogether unworthy of the majesty, and noble freedom of History, he said pleasantly to his friends, in excusing himself from their solicitations, that he was too much a Servant of the Kings his good Masters, to undertake the writing of their Lives. A notable saying; the sense of which examin'd to the bottom ought to oblige great Princes to doe great things, thereby to furnish a sincere Historian with materials, whereby to render their Memory immortal, and to fill the World with the glory of their names. But on the otherside it gives an Historian to understand, that when he

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is oblig'd to write a History, neither fear, nor hope, nor threatnings, nor rewards, nor hatred, nor love, nor partiality, nor prejudice to any person, ought to turn him one single step out of the direct road of truth, for which he is accountable to his Reader, if he intends not to draw upon himself the contempt and indignation of posterity, which will never fail to condemn him for an Impostor and a publick poisoner.

Thus you have the Character of this great Man; in whom nothing could be censur'd, but that he was somewhat too timorous, and that he had not firmness and resolution enough to give generous and bold advice in pressing emergencies, so to have cut up by the root those great evils which threatned the Government. Therefore, when he saw the King, ( who was yet more fearfull than himself, ) amaz'd at the audaciousness of the *Associators*; And likewise was of opinion, that if he would have ventur'd, it was not in his power to have suppress'd the *League*, knowing also full well that, the Queen Mother who was his Ma-

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ster's Oracle, and who underhand supported the *League*, would never consent, that the ruine of it shou'd be endeavour'd, and that, on the other side he was very desirous to draw the King out of this present plunge ; betwixt both, he took a *trimming* kind of way, by which he thought he shou'd be able to preserve the Royal Authority, without the destruction of the *League*. To this effect, not doubting but that in case it were not prevented, they wou'd chuse a Head, who had power to turn it against the King himself, he advis'd him to declare in that Assembly, that far from opposing the *League* of the *Catheliques* against the *Huguenots*, he was resolv'd to make himself the Head of it, which they dar'd not to refuse him, and by that means wou'd make himself the disposer of it, and provide that nothing shou'd be enterpris'd against him.

And truly this was no ill expedient, to check, and give a stop for some time to the execution of those vast designs, which were form'd by the Authours of the *League*. But it must also be confess'd, that by signing,  
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this, and causing it to be sign'd by others, as he did, when he declared himself the Head of it, he authoris'd those very Articles, which manifestly shock'd his Royal Authority; put the *League* in condition, and even gave it a lawfull right, according to that Treaty which he approv'd, to act against himself, in case he shou'd disturb it, or finally break with it, which was impossible not to happen in some time; he infring'd the Peace which he had given his Subjects by the Edict of Pacification granted to the *Huguenots*, and precipitated *France* into that bottomless gulf of miseries, that are inseparable from a Civil War, which himself renew'd, and which was of small advantage to him.

I shall not describe the particularities of it, because they belong to the History of *France*, and have no relation to the *League*, which on that occasion acted not, on its own account, against the Authority of the King. By whose orders two Armies, the one commanded by the Duke d' *Alanson*, the other by the Duke de *Mayenne*, attack'd the *Huguenots*; from whom they

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they took *La Charite*, *Issoite*, *Broûage* and some other places of less importance; I shall onely say, that the King quickly growing weary of the Cares of War, which were not suitable to his humour, loving, as he passionately did, his ease and pleasures, A new Peace ensued, which was granted to the *Huguenots* at the end of *September*, in the same year, by the Edict of *Poitiers*, little different from that of *May*, onely with this reservation, that the exercise of *Calvinism* was restrain'd within the limits of the former pacifications, and that it was forbidden, in the Marquisate of *Salusses*, and the County of *Avignon*.

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Farther, it was during this interval of Peace, which was highly displeasing to the *Leaguers*, that the King to strengthen himself against the *League*, by making himself Creatures, who shou'd inviolably be engag'd to his Service by an Oath, more particular and more solemn, than that which univerfally oblig'd his Subjects; establish'd and solemniz'd his new Order of the Holy Ghost, which is even at this day, and after the entire revolution

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tion of an Age, one of the most illustrious marks of Honour, wherewith our Kings are accustom'd to reward the merit and service of the Princes, and the most signaliz'd Nobility. It has been for a long time believ'd, that *Henry* the Third, was the Institutour and Founder of this Order; and himself us'd whatever means he cou'd, to have this opinion establish'd in the World: But at length the truth is broken out, which with whatever arts it is suppress'd can never fail, either sooner or later, to exert it self, and to render to a man's person or his memory, the blame or praise that he deserves.

For it has been found out by a way, which cannot be suspected of forgery, and which leaves no farther doubt concerning this Subject, that the beginning of this Order is to be referr'd to another Prince of the Imperial bloud of *France*, I mean *Louis d' Anjou* styl'd of *Tarento*, King of *Jerusalem* and *Sicily*, who in the year, one thousand three hundred fifty two, instituted in the Castle *Del Vovo* at *Naples*, the Order of the Knights of the Holy Ghost,

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on the precise day of *Pentecost*; by its constitution containing 25 chapters, and which, in the style of those times, thus begins.

**We Lewis, by the Grace of God, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, to the Honour of the Holy Ghost, on whose day we were by Grace, Crown'd King of our Realms, for the exaltation of Chivalry, and increase of Honour, have ordain'd, to make a Society of Knights, who shall be call'd the Knights of the Holy Ghost, of right intention; and the said Knights shall be to the Number of three hundred, of which we, as beginner and founder of that said Order, shall be Prince, as also ought to be all our Successours, King of Jerusalem and Sicily.**

But seeing he died without Children by Queen *Jane* the first, his Wife, and that after his death there happen'd strange revolutions in that Kingdom, that order so far perish'd with him, that the memory of it had not remain'd, if the Original of that constitution of King *Lewis*, had not by some accident

accident fallen into the possession of the Republique of *Venice*, who made a present of it to *Henry* the third, at his return from *Poland*, as of a piece that was very rare, and which coming from a Prince of the blood Royal, of our Kings deserv'd well to be preserv'd in the Archives of *France*, which was not the intention of King *Henry*.

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For finding this Order to be excellent, and besides, that it was exactly calculated for him, because being born on *Whitsunday*, he had been Crown'd afterwards on the same day King of *Poland*, and some time after King of *France*, as *Lewis* of *Tarento*, had receiv'd his two Crowns of *Jerusalem* and *Sicily*, on the like day before, he took a fancy to renew that Order, four years after his Coronation. But desiring to be esteem'd the Authour of it, he chang'd the Collar, where he plac'd certain Ciphers, to which has been substituted in following times, the Coat of Arms in manner of a Trophy, as it is at present to be seen. And after he had transcrib'd, what best pleas'd him, from the Statutes of that Order, he

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he commanded *Monsieur de Chiverny* to burn the Original, thereby totally to extinguish the memory of it.

But that Minister though most faithful to his Master, believing not that he was bound to be the Executioner of that Order, this rare piece descended to the Bishop of *Chartres*, his Son; from whom by succession of time, it fell into the hands of the late President *de Maisons*, as it is related by *Monsieur le Labreur*, who has given us the Copy at large, in the second Tome of his Additions to the *Memoires of Monsieur de Castelnau*. In this manner, this famous Order was rather restor'd than instituted, by King *Henry the Third*, to combine a new *Militia* of Knights, which he might oppose against the *Leaguers*, who were much dissatisf'd with the Peace, which he had given to the *Huguenots*.

Nevertheless this Peace was not so well observ'd, but that from time to time they created new disturbances, which two or three years afterwards kindled the seventh War, after the refusal they had made, to surrender those  
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cautionary Towns which had been granted them for a certain time, which was then expir'd, and by their surprisal of some other places. But this War was ended in the second year after the conferences of *Nerac*, and *Fleix*, by a peace which lasted four or five years till the *League*, which from the time wherein the King had made himself their Head, had not dar'd to attempt any thing, all on the sudden declar'd it self against him, under another, the occasion of which I am going to relate.

Immediately after the peace was made, the *Catholiques* and *Huguenots*, whom the Civil War had arm'd against each other, joyn'd themselves to serve in the Army of the Duke d' *Alanson*, who being declar'd Duke of *Brabant*, by the States of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, entred as it were in Triumph into *Cambray*, after he had rais'd the Seige, which the Duke of *Parma* had laid to it. And after having been proclam'd a Sovereign Prince in *Antwerp*, and been receiv'd at *Bruges* and *Ghent*, in the same quality, he continued the War, assisted

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*Anno 1579.* assisted underhand by Succours from *France*, and openly by the Queen of *England*, that he might drive the *Spaniard* out of all the Low-Countries. On the other side, the Queen Mother, who had pretentions to the Crown of *Portugal*, had also sent a gallant Navy to the *Tercera Islands*, under the Command of her Kinsman *Philip Strozzi*, and openly protected *Don Antonio*; who after having lost the Battail before *Lisbonne*, was fled for refuge into *France*, and yet ceas'd not to dispute that Crown against King *Philip* of *Spain*. For which reason that Prince, who follow'd the Steps of his Father, and of *Ferdinand*, his great Grandfather by the Mother's side, in this as in all other things, thought of nothing more than how to greaten himself at our expence, and appli'd himself with his utmost vigour, to foment new divisions amongst us, to hinder us from giving him trouble in his own Estates.

To this effect he us'd his best endeavours, and employ'd all his arts to ingage the King of *Navarre* and *Damville*, who after the death of his elder Brother,

Brother, was now Duke of *Montmo-*  
*rancy*, to break the peace, and renew *Ann. 1581.*  
the War in favour of the *Huguenots* ;  
making not the least scruple on that  
occasion, to act against the true inte-  
rest of Religion, at the same time  
when he upbraided for the same thing,  
those who in reality made the war in  
*Flanders*, out of no other considera-  
tion, but the relief of an oppress'd peo-  
ple of which even the greatest part  
were *Catholiques*. But seeing that de-  
sign of his cou'd not possibly succeed,  
for certain reasons which belong not to  
this History, he turn'd his thoughts  
towards the Duke of *Guise*, and gave  
orders to his Ambassadour *Mendoza*,  
to omit nothing which might oblige  
him, to make the *League* take Arms,  
which was already exceeding power-  
full, and of which he might absolute-  
ly dispose, as being the principal Au-  
thour, and the very Soul of it.

The Duke who was intrepid, and  
bold even to rashness, when he had once  
resolv'd upon his Business, was not-  
withstanding very subtile, and clear-  
sighted, wary, and prudent enough  
to take just measures, and not to in-

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gage in any Enterprize, of which he was not as much assur'd as man could be, to have all the means of making it succeed. From thence it proceeded, that he resisted for a long time the temptation of great Sums that were offer'd him, and held out against the threatnings of the Ambassadour, to discover the secret treaty he had made with *Don John of Austria*, the Original of which was in the King of *Spain's* possession; nay even against the pressing sollicitations of his Brothers, and the rest of the Princes of his House, who being more impatient and less discerning than he, thought every minute an age till he declar'd himself. But at last arriv'd the fatal moment, in which, after having well examin'd all matters, he thought that every thing concurr'd not onely to favour the design he had always had, to make himself Head of the *Catholique League*, but also to carry his hopes much farther than his ambition, vast as it was, had yet led him to imagine.

In Effect, on the one side, the King was reduc'd to a lower condition than  
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he ever was before : his immense prodigality in a thousand things , altogether unworthy of the Royal Majesty, and of no profit to the State ; the pomp, the pride, and the insupportable insolence of his Favourites ; his fantastique way of living, which hurri'd him incessantly from one extreme into another, from retirement and solitude to a City life, from Debauchery into Devotion, and such a Devotion as pass'd in the peoples minds for a mere Mummery, into those Processions of Penitents, habited in Sackcloth of several colours, where he walk'd himself with his disciplining whip at his Girdle against the *Genius* of a Nation, which loves to serve God in spirit and in truth ; these and a thousand such like things wholly contrary to our customs, and to the use of his Predecessours, had drawn upon him such a detestation, and so great a contempt from the greatest part of his Subjects, that against the ordinary practice of the *French*, who adore their Kings, there were given a thousand publique marks, and principally in *Paris*, of the aversion which they had for him.

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On the other side, all things conspir'd in favour of the Duke of *Guise*, to raise him to that high degree of power, which seem'd to equal him with the King himself, who in effect already look'd on him as his Rival; and as such hated him, without daring as yet to enterprise ought against him to prevent his designs, or to shelter himself against the mischief which he apprehended from him. The people united themselves to him, as to their Protectour, and the pillar of Religion.

Most of the great men at Court, discontented at the Government, threw themselves into his party; the Ladies, from whom the Minions cou'd hold nothing, disclos'd to him all the secrets of the Cabinet, to revenge themselves of the King whom they hated mortally, for certain reasons not so fit to be divulg'd. He was offer'd to have the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Savoy* in his interests, who both hop'd to draw great advantages from the *League*, and principally so powerfull a Prince as the King of *Spain*, who offer'd him two hundred thousand *Livres* of Pension, besides the Sums he would

would furnish for the levying of his Ann. 1583.  
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These were indeed strong temptations to a Prince of his humour, and who was inclin'd to throw at all. But that which gave the last stroke to his determination, was the death of *Monsieur* the King's onely Brother: who after his unsuccessfull Enterprize on *Antwerp*, having been constrain'd to return dishonourably into *France*, dy'd at *Chateau de Thierry*, either of Melancholy, or of his old Debauches, or as the common report was of poison. For about that time it was, that believing the King would have no Children, and that the King of *Navarre* might be excluded with ease from the succession, for more than one reason, (which he hop'd to make authentique rather by force of Arms, than by the Writings of the Doctours of his Faction) and that the *Queen Mother* who hated her Son-in-Law *Navarre*, had the same inclination to exclude him, thereby to advance her Grand-Child the Prince of *Lorraine* to the Kingdom, he rais'd his imagination to higher hopes than what he had for-

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merly conceiv'd, when first the Cardinal of *Lorrain* his Uncle, had drawn the platform of a *Catholique League*, whereof he might make himself the Head. And on these grounds, without farther balancing the matter, he resolv'd to take up Arms, and to make War against the King. But to make so criminal an enterprize more plausible, there was yet wanting a pretence, which in some sort might justifie his actions to the World; And fortune produc'd it for him to as much advantage as he cou'd desire, almost at the same time when he had taken up so strange a resolution.

As it was impossible that so great a Conspiracy shou'd be manag'd with such secrecy, that the King shou'd not be advertis'd of it, (which in effect he was from many hands.) That Prince (who had suffer'd his natural courage to be made effeminate by the laziness of a voluptuous retir'd Life, was become exceeding timorous, and incapable of coming to any resolution within himself, to stifle in its birth so horrible a mischief by some generous action, and some Master stroke,) had  
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a desire to have near him his Brother-in-Law the King of *Navarre*, whom he acknowledg'd according to the *Salique* Law, for the Heir presumptive of the Crown, and knew him to be the man, who was most capable of breaking all the measures of the Duke of *Guise*. But foreseeing that in order to this, it was necessary that he who was Head of the *Huguenots*, should first renounce his Heresie, and be reconcil'd to the *Catholique* Church, he dispatch'd the Duke of *Espernon* to him in *Guyenne*, to perswade him to a thing of so much consequence, to the reestablishment of his fortune, and his true interest both Spiritual and Temporal. As that Prince had always protested with much sincerity, that he was of no obstinate disposition, and that he was most ready to embrace the truth, when once it were made to appear such to him, he receiv'd the Duke with exceeding kindness; to whom he gave a private audience in his Closet, in presence of the Lord of *Roquelaure* his Confident, of a Minister of his own Religion, and of the President *Ferrier* his Chancellour; who

*Ann. 1524.* had always lean'd to the opinion of the *Huguenots*, of which at last he made profession in his extreme old age, and some little time before his death.

In plain terms, that Conference was not manag'd very regularly, nor with extraordinary sincerity; for *Espernon* and *Roquelaure*, who were no great Doctours, propos'd nothing but humane reasons for his Conversion; and alledg'd no stronger arguments, than what were drawn from the Crown of *France*, which they preferr'd incomparably beyond the Psalms of *Marot*, the Lords Supper, and all the Sermons of the Ministers. But on the other side, the Minister and the President, who were much better vers'd in disputation than the two Courtiers, to destroy those weak reasons of secular interest, produc'd no motives, but what they affirm'd to be altogether spiritual and Soulfaving, and the word of God, which they expounded to their own meaning, to which those Noble Lords who understood nothing of those matters, had not the least syllable to answer. Insomuch that the King of *Navarre*, who piqu'd himself extremely upon

upon the point of generosity, looking Ann. 1584. on it as a most honourable action, for him to undervalue so great a Crown at the rate of selling his Conscience and Religion for it; the Duke was constrain'd to return as he came, without having obtain'd any thing toward the satisfaction of the King. But what was yet more displeasing in that affair, was that *Monsieur du Plessis Mornay*, a Gentleman of an ancient and illustrious Family, a great wit, whose Learning was extraordinary for a man of his Quality, and who besides made use of his Pen, as well as of his Sword; but above all, a most zealous Protestant, put this conference into writing, which he also publish'd; in which having expos'd what was urg'd on both sides, he pretends to manifest the advantage which his Religion had against the *Catholique*, and that the King of *Navarre* being evidently convinc'd of the weakness of our cause, was thereby more than ever confirm'd in his own opinion.

This was the reason why the Factious and the *Catholiques*, who were heated with a false Zeal, began to fly out



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out immoderately against the King, whom they charg'd with a thousand horrible calumnies, publishing in all places that he kept Correspondence with the King of *Navarre*, to whom he had sent *Espernon*, not with intention of converting him, but rather of confirming him in his Errors, as it appear'd sufficiently by the proceedings of that conference, where nothing was urg'd to the advantage of Religion, but on the contrary, all things in favour of *Huguenotism*. And it hapning almost at the same time, that the King (in order to hinder the *Huguenots* from resuming their Arms against the *Leaguers*, who had provok'd them by committing many outrages against them without punishment,) thought himself oblig'd to grant them that prolongation which the King of *Navarre* demanded, of the term prescrib'd them for the surrender of those cautionary places which they had allow'd them for their security by the last Edict of Peace: upon this pretence, the Faction cast off all manner of respect to him. They clamour'd publicly on all occasions, the

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the Preachers from their Pulpits, the <sup>Ann. 1584.</sup> Curats from their Desks, the Confessours from their Seats, the Professours in their Lectures, and the Doctours in their Resolutions which they gave, that they were oblig'd to oppose themselves with all their power against the King, who supported the *Navarrois*, and resolv'd, that Heretical and stubborn as he was, he shou'd nevertheless succeed to the Crown, which ought never to be suffer'd, they being assur'd that this Prince, if ever he shou'd mount the Throne, wou'd abolish the *Catholique* Religion in *France*.

This was that terrible machine, of which they made use to stir up the people; over whom there is nothing has so great a power as the motive of Religion, when once they are perswaded that it will be forceably taken from them; And to bind them inseparably to the interests and party of the Duke of *Guise*, whom they believ'd to have no other aim in all his undertakings, than the maintenance and defence of it against Heretiques, and the favourers of Heresie. But because that Prince, who was extremely dextrous, had no mind that  
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it shou'd be perceiv'd he acted for himself, under so specious a pretence; besides that he believ'd not that it was safe for him, as yet to attempt the exclusion of the other Princes of the blood from the Succession, they being good *Catholiques*, he endeavour'd to draw subtilly into his party, the good old Man *Charles*, Cardinal of *Bourbon*. And indeed having with great Presents gain'd the *Sieur de Rubempre* who absolutely govern'd him; he perswaded him without much trouble, that he being by one degree of kindred nearer to the King, than was the King of *Navarre* his Nephew, it was to him that the Kingdom belong'd of right, in case the King shou'd dye without Children, and that the whole *Catholique League* wou'd stand by him in his claim with all their power, were it onely to hinder an *Huguenot* Prince from succeeding to the Crown.

There needed not more to shake a Soul, so weak as was that of the Cardinal *de Bourbon*; who devout as he was, yet suffer'd himself to be seduc'd with the vain hopes of Reigning. He was so much dazled with the false glittering

tering of an imaginary Crown, that without considering he had already one of Cardinalship, that three score and ten came fast upon him, and that the King was not yet thirty five, he quitted his Habit of Cardinal, and appear'd in publique, like the General of an Army; which gave men occasion to believe, that his great age had at least craz'd his understanding, if it had not quite destroy'd it. Yet this opinion of the world hinder'd him not, from calling himself the Heir presumptive of the Crown, nor from declaring himself openly the Head of the *League*, against his Nephew the King of *Navarre*; especially when he saw that party, in which he thought himself already so firmly rooted, become every day more powerfull and formidable, by the conjunction of the particular *League* of the *Parisians*, which caus'd such furious disorders, under the famous name of the *sixteen*; and which was fram'd in *Paris*, about this time, in that manner which I am now going to relate.

After that, by the vigilance of the first President, *Christopher de Thou*,  
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and some other Magistrates, the course of the League was stopp'd at *Paris*, where it had begun to make some impression, after it had been sign'd by the *Picards*, all things were in a peaceable condition there, none daring to hold any secret Cabals against the State; till such time as on occasion of the Conference betwixt the King of *Navarre* and the Duke d' *Espernon* in *Guyenne*, a malicious report was rais'd, that the King protected the *Huguenots*, who so soon as their Head should mount the Throne, which he pretended to be his right, wou'd not fail to abolish the *Catholique* Religion in *France*. For then it was, that a mean Citizen of *Paris* call'd *La Roche Blond*, a man rather weak and silly, than wicked, prejudic'd by the calumnies, which the factious publish'd against the King, got it into his head, through a false zeal of Religion, that the good *Catholiques* of *Paris* shou'd unite themselves together, and oppose with all their force the King's designs, (who, as it was imagin'd, favour'd the *Heretiques*) and hinder the King of *Navarre*, from his Succession to the Crown.

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Crown. To this purpose, he address'd himself immediately to one Mr. *Matthew de Launoy*, who having first been a Priest was afterwards the Minister of *Sedan*, from whence he had escap'd in his own defence, being there taken in Adultery, and thereupon renouncing his *Calvinism*, was made Canon of *Soissons*, and at that time preach'd at *Paris*. He also communicated his design to two noted Doctours, and Curats; the one of *Saint Severin*, nam'd *John Prevost*, and the other of *Saint Benet*, who was the famous Mr. *John Boucher*, one of the most follow'd Preachers of *Paris*; but whose talent chiefly consisted in his extreme boldness, which stretch'd even to impudence, a man more proper, as it appear'd, to raise a great Sedition, by his violent and furious declamations, than to preach the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, which inspires onely humility, obedience, and submission to the higher Powers.

These men being united all four in the same opinion, which the Spirit of Division and Rebellion, disguis'd under the specious appearance of Zeal, inspir'd

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inspir'd into them, communicated to each other the names of all their several acquaintance in *Paris*, who were most proper to enter into Society with them, and to lay the foundations of an Holy Union of *Catholiques* in that great City; which without farther deliberation they coucluded to be of absolute necessity, to preserve Religion in *France*, and to extinguish Tyranny: for by that name it was that those factious *Bygots* took the licence to call the Government. But for fear of being too soon discover'd by their multitude, as it had happen'd formerly in *Paris*, when the project of the *League* was first broach'd, they agreed each of them to name two Associates, of the most confiding men they knew, to whom they shou'd communicate the whole secret of their enterprise. Upon which, *La Roche Blond* chose the *Sieur Lewis d'Orleans*, a famous Advocate, and the *Sieur Acarie*, Master of the Accompts, who was afterwards ironically call'd the *Lac-quay* of the *League*, because, that being lame, he was one of those who went and came, and acted with most earnestness

earnestness, for the interest of his party: The same man, who was Husband to that pious *Mary* of the Incarnation, of whose good example he profited so ill. The Curat of *St. Benet*, nam'd *Mignager*, an Advocate, and *Crucé* a Procureur of Parliament. He of *St. Severin*, gave his voice for the *Sieur de Caumont* an Advocate, and a Merchant, call'd *Compan*. *Matthew de Launoy*, who was not yet so well acquainted in *Paris*, cou'd name but one, which was the *Sieur de Manœuvre*, Treasurer of *France*, of the House *des Hennequins*. But to complete the number of eight, they Associated with him the *Sieur d' Effiat*, a Gentleman of *Auvergne*, who was very well known to the Curat of *St. Severin*, who made himself answerable for him.

These twelve (as I may call them) false Apostles, were the Founders of the *League* in *Paris*, who admirably counterfeiting zeal for the publick good, and discoursing of nothing else amongst their friends in private, but of the oppressions of the people, of the avarice and insolence of the Favourites, the correspondence which the

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King held with the Head of the *Hu-  
guenots*, and the manifest danger in  
which they were of losing their Reli-  
gion, had immediately made many  
Churchmen Profelytes of their opini-  
on, as also Lawyers, and Shop-kee-  
pers, as for example, *John Pelletier*,  
Curat of *St. Jaques de la Boucherie*,  
*Guincestre* Curat of *St. Gervase*, *La  
Morliere* a Notary, *Rolland* a Collector  
of the King's Revenue, the Commis-  
sary *Louchard*, the Procureurs, *Emmo-  
not* and *La Chapelle*, and *Bussy Le  
Clerc*, the most Factious of all the  
*Leaguers*, besides many others whose  
names are of little consequence to the  
History, and who wou'd doe their poster-  
ity but small credit to be mention'd.

But to maintain at least some kind  
of order, in a design which tended to  
the confusion and ruine of the State,  
and to take care that their Conspiracy  
might take no vent, there was imme-  
diately establish'd a Council of Ten,  
who were selected out of that great  
number, to meet together, sometimes  
at one man's house, sometimes at ano-  
ther's, very secretly; but most com-  
monly they met at his lodgings who  
was

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was the most desperate of them all, *Ann. 1584.*  
and who during the greatest part of  
that time was the leading man in all  
deliberations, I mean the Curat of St.  
*Benet*, in his chamber at the College  
of *Sorbonne*, and afterwards at the  
College of *Forteret*, whither he re-  
tir'd, and which afterwards on that  
account was call'd the Cradle of the  
*League*. Out of these Ten, there were  
appointed Six, which were, *La Roche*  
*Blond*, *Compan*, *Cruce*, *Louchart*, *La*  
*Chapelle* and *Buffy*, amongst whom  
the sixteen Wards of *Paris* were distri-  
buted, for them to observe in their  
respective Divisions, all that occur'd,  
either to the furtherance, or the  
disadvantage of their Plot, and to pick  
up those, whom they cou'd draw into  
their Faction with most ease: as also  
there to put in execution, by their  
Accomplices, whatsoever they had re-  
solv'd in their Cabal; which not long  
after was enlarg'd to the number of  
Forty Men, the most considerable a-  
mongst them. 'Tis upon this account  
that the first Union of the *Parisians*,  
was call'd the Sixteen, from the num-  
ber, not of the persons but of the  
Wards.

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And,

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And, since nothing spreads with so much ease, and so suddenly, especially amongst the Common-people, as that disease which is taken by contagion; so by the conversation, which these men, infected with the Spirit of Rebellion, had by themselves and their Emissaries, with the false Zealots, the simple, the Malecontents, the factious, the greatest part of the populace, and the meanest sort of Citizens, that evil, which was infinitely contagious, was multipli'd with ease, and spread it self in little time through all the Quarters of the Town. And it encreas'd with so much vigour, that those Mutineers, who at their beginning durst not openly appear, but held their meetings as privately as they cou'd, out of their fear to be discover'd, now believ'd themselves so formidably strong, and so very numerous, that none wou'd dare to make head against them.

They had even the boldness to send their Deputies into all the Provinces, to invite into their new *Association* those who had declar'd for that of *Peronne*, who sign'd at this time to a Paper more pernicious

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pernicious than the first. For where-  
as in the other, they promis'd by their  
second Article to employ their lives  
and fortunes for defence of King *Henry*  
the Third, in his Authority, and to  
cause due obedience to be render'd to  
him; They swear in this other, that  
they enter into the Union with the  
*Parisians*, not onely to exterminate the  
Heretiques, but also to destroy Hypo-  
crisie, and Tyranny, that is to say, in  
their execrable meaning, to pull down  
the Authority of *Henry* the Third,  
whom they accus'd of those two crimes  
with all injustice imaginable. This  
is that, which was call'd the *League* of  
*Sixteen*, which after the former *League*  
was joyn'd to it, by its secret Agents  
residing in *Paris*, acknowledg'd in  
reality the Duke of *Guise* for their  
Head, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* on-  
ly in appearance.

In the mean time, that Duke finding  
himself to be so powerfully supported,  
and all things well dispos'd for his en-  
terprise, as he cou'd possibly desire,  
resolv'd at last on execution. To this  
effect, being retir'd from Court into  
his Government of *Champaign*, under

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pretence

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pretence of some discontent, he went to *Joinville*, where (as matters had been laid before) there met him, at the same time, the Envoyes of the King of *Spain*, and those of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who had taken on himself the quality of first Prince of the Blood, and Heir presumptive of the Crown. And there, (the Duke acting for himself, and for the Princes his Confederates,) was concluded a perpetual *League*, both Offensive and Defensive, for them, their Allies, and their Descendants; by which it was covenanted, That to preserve in *France* the *Catholic* Religion, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, in case the King shou'd die without Children, shou'd succeed him, as nearest Heir to the Crown, from which all the Heretique Princes, shou'd forever stand excluded; as also such of them as were favourers of Heretiques, and above all, those who were relaps'd, so that any of them, who had ever made profession of Heresie, or who had onely given toleration to it, shou'd never be judg'd capable of Reigning. That the Cardinal, when King, shou'd banish out of

of the Realm all those Heretiques; shou'd cause all the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* to be observ'd, and shou'd solemnly renounce the Alliance made with the *Turk*. That the King of *Spain* shou'd furnish every month fifty thousand Pistoles, for the charges of the War, which by obligation was to be made against the *Huguenots*, and against the King himself, in case he shou'd not abandon them. That also the Cardinal, and the other Princes of the *League*, shou'd mutually assist His Catholique Majesty with all their Forces, in reducing his Rebellious Subjects of the *Low Countries*, under his obedience, and cause the Treaty of *Cambray* to be punctually observ'd.

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After this, the Duke receiving immediate payment of one half of the money stipulated for his Pension, order'd some levies of *Swisses*, and *Reiters* to be made by the Colonels *Phiffer*, and *Christopher de Bassompierre*, who were entirely at his Devotion. But before he cou'd draw those Forces together, the Deputies from the States of the *Low Countries*, about the same

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time

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time, coming to make tender of themselves to the King, and pressing him extremely on behalf of their Superiours, to accept the Sovereignty of those Provinces; the *Spaniards* to ward that fatal blow, and to hinder him from sending a powerfull Army into *Flanders* against them, resolving to make a pretent diversion, oblig'd the Duke of *Guise*, who by reason of his ingagement cou'd refuse them nothing, to begin the War against the King.

Accordingly he began it with the surprize of *Toul*, and of *Verdun*, and possessing himself of *Chaälön* and *Mezieres*, of the most considerable Towns of *Picardy* by his Cousin the Duke d' *Aumale*, of *Dijon* and the greatest part of *Bourgogne* by the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother, of *Orleans* by the *Sieur d' Entragues*, of many other places by his Dependants, and of the City of *Lyons* it self, by the Souldiers of Captain *Le Passage*, whom the Duke of *Espernon* had plac'd there, and who being corrupted by the Emissaries of the *Guises*, turn'd out their Commander who held the Citadel which they them-

themselves demolish'd, and declar'd openly for the *League*, saying maliciously in their own excuse, what they had been taught by the *Leaguers*, that they wou'd not be damn'd for serving the King, who was a favourer of Heretiques, and adding falsely, that the *Jesuits* whom they had consulted upon that point, had absolv'd them from the Oath which they had made him.

Now as all the Favourites, and principally *Espernon*, were as generally abhorr'd, as the Duke of *Guise* was belov'd, those two passions love and hatred joyn'd with hopes of raising themselves by Civil Wars, ingag'd a great number of the most considerable and bravest of the Court, to take part with the *Leaguers*; And amongst others *Charles de Cofse*, Count, and afterwards Duke of *Brissac*, Son to the great Marshal de *Brissac* Viceroy of *Piedmont*, and Brother to the brave *Timoleon*, Colonel of the *French* Infantry, *Claude de la Chastre*, Bailiff of *Berry*, *Francis d'Espina*y de *Saint Luc*, the Count of *Randan*, the Marquis of *Bois Dauphin*, the Marquis de  
Rane,

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*Rane, Claude de Baufremont* Baron of *Senecey*, who allur'd into it *Anthony de Brichanteau*, *Beavais Nangis* his Brother-in-Law ; Son to the Valiant Marquis *de Nangis*, *Nicholas de Brichanteau*, Knight of the Order, who died of his wounds receiv'd at the Bat-tel of *Dreux*, bravely fighting for his King and his Religion ; This generous Son of his having serv'd the King very gallantly, both in *Poland* and in *France*, having also been esteem'd by him, and admitted into the favour of his Confidence, was retir'd from Court, because the Duke of *Espernon*, after he had carri'd from him the Com-mand of Colonel of the *French* Infan-try which had been promis'd him by the King, caus'd also to be taken from him that of *Maistre de Camp*, of the Re-giment of Guards : in the just resent-ment of which injury, he was not able to resist the pressing solicitations of those two Lords, *de Rane*, and *de Senecey*, who to draw him along with them into the Duke of *Guise's* party, made him a pro-mise from the Duke, which was ne-ver perform'd to him, (*viz.*) that no peace shou'd be concluded but upon con-

condition, that *Espernon* his Enemy shou'd be turn'd out of Court, and that his charge of Colonel of the *French* Infantry shou'd be restor'd; farther assuring him, that he shou'd exercise the same Command in the Army of the *League*.

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Thus it may be seen how much the haughty and injurious proceeding of that Favourite, was advantageous to the Duke of *Guise*. Therefore when one of his Captains, who had heard him make great complaints of the Duke of *Espernon* offer'd himself to murder him, as he pass'd through *Chaâlons* in his return from *Metz*, by no means (reply'd he) I shou'd be very sorry he were dead; for he gives us many gallant men, who wou'd never ingage in our party, if the desire of revenging so many intolerable affronts, as are daily put on the worthiest of the Court, by that little Cadet of *Gascony*, did not bring them over to us.

In this manner the Duke of *Guise* made himself every day more powerfull, both by the peoples love to him, and their hatred to the Favourites. Insomuch that the King seeing so formidable a party arm'd against him,  
was

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was forc'd to answer the *Low Country* Deputies, with tears in his Eyes, that in his present condition, he was not able to accept their offers, as he wou'd certainly have done in a more favourable conjuncture, which never afterwards befell him. Observe now the first Exploit of the *League*, which if it had never occasion'd any other mischief, than this to have hinder'd the reuniting of the *Low Countries* to us, which were the first Conquest of our Crown, and the most ancient Patrimony of our Kings, 'tis most certain that for this onely reason, it ought to be had in detestation by all good *Frenchmen*.

But that which ought to render it yet more odious, is that they did not onely take up Arms in manifest Rebellion against their King, but also tim'd it so unluckily and mischievously, that far from exterminating the *Huguenots*, which they made a show to desire, they hinder'd by that War the ruine of *Huguenotism*, which was mouldring insensibly by the Peace. And truly all things were dispos'd in such a manner, that had they continued never so little longer in that peaceable

peaceable Estate they then enjoy'd, there is hardly any doubt to be made, but that Heresie which grew every day weaker, wou'd in the end have crumbled into nothing. Most certainly the King who mortally hated the *Huguenots*, which appear'd but too visibly in the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, and who was not able to destroy them by force, had taken his measures so surely, by changing that manner of proceeding, that he had infallibly compass'd his ends by the Peace he gave them, had it continu'd a while longer.

For at that very time, when the Duke who was so long in demurring, e'er he came to a resolution, at last took Arms, under pretence of abolishing Heresie in *France*; 'tis well known, that there were not remaining above twenty Ministers in all the Provinces on this side the *Loire*: none of them writ any thing against the *Catholic* Religion, neither was there any *Huguenot* in Office or Employment. The King of *Navarre*, who was Head of that Party, at that time was desirous of nothing more, than to return into the King's favour, and that he

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he might deserve that Honour, he had not long before advertis'd him, that the same *Philip* King of *Spain*, who affected to appear with so much ostentation, the great Defender of the *Catholique* Faith against the Protestants, had proffer'd him large Sums of money, and promis'd to assist him in reducing *Guyenne* under his Command, on condition that he wou'd break the Peace, which the King had given to the *Huguenots*, and cause them to resume their Arms, to which he wou'd never give consent. In like manner the King, who held himself assur'd of him, fail'd not to advise him, that he shou'd beware of some secret practices amongst the *Huguenots*, who began to be suspicious of his conduct, and that by no means he shou'd permit any other but himself to be Head and Protectour of that Party. Thus it was to have been hop'd, that under favour of this Peace which had disarm'd the *Huguenots*, they wou'd have been reduc'd insensibly, if the *Leaguers* by taking up Arms to force the King, as in effect they did, to break the Peace which he had given them, had not necessitated them

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III

them to recommence the War, which in the progress of it was favourable to them.

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In the mean time, amidst the many good Fortunes which happen'd to the *League* in the overture of the War, they had the displeasure of failing in their endeavours to possess themselves of two very considerable Cities in the Kingdom; and such as had render'd them absolute Masters of *Provence* and *Guyenne*. The one was *Marseilles*, which the second Consul, feigning to have receiv'd Orders from the King to invade the *Huguenots*, had put into commotion, and was just ready to have deliver'd it into the hands of the *Guifards*; but being circumvented and taken, by some honest Citizens who had discover'd his Treason, he was immediately hang'd, and appeas'd by his death the Sedition, which he had rais'd to have betray'd them. *Lodowick de Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, was accus'd as Authour of that Enterprife, in hope to have seis'd the Government of *Provence*, but he most constantly deni'd it. And as about that time he renounc'd the *League*; the Duke of  
*Guise*

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*Guise* his Brother-in-Law upbraided him, that he had never done it, but out of shame and vexation to have miss'd his blow. He on the other side protested, that he chang'd Parties onely for the satisfaction of his Conscience which oblig'd him so to doe. On which Subject to justifie his procedure, he affirm'd, that he had never enter'd into the *League*, but that it was confidently told him, that the *Pope* had licens'd and approv'd of it ; But that having some reasons to suspect the contrary, he had sent three several times to *Pope Gregory* the thirteenth, to be satisfi'd of his doubts, and nam'd the Messenger, who was Father *Claude Matthew* a *Jesuite*, call'd the Post of the *League*, because he was in continual motion betwixt *Rome* and *Paris*, employ'd in the Business of the Holy Union, of which he was a most ardent and zealous Factour. And that Duke positively affirm'd, that after all, he cou'd never draw from the *Pope* any kind of approbation, not so much as by word of mouth, much less in writing, for he always answer'd, that he cou'd never see into the depth of that affair,

affair, and therefore wou'd not be in-  
gag'd in it. *Ann. 1585.*

The other Town which the *League* mis'd of surprizing was *Bordeaux*, where the most zealous *Catholiques*, who were enrag'd against the *Huguenots*, endeavour'd to have made themselves Masters for the *League*, and had already advanc'd their Barricades to the very Lodgings of Marshal *de Matignon* their Governour, a faithfull Servant to the King, and a declar'd Enemy to the *Guises*: But that Lord, equally Wise, Valiant and Resolute, knew so well by address to manage the minds of those Citizens, that opening for himself a passage through the Barricades, without other Arms than a Sword by his side, and a riding Rod in his hand, he seiz'd on one of the Gates, through which causing some of his Troops to enter, who were not far from thence, he not onely assur'd himself of the Town, but also got possession of *Chateau Trompette*, after having seiz'd the Governour, who was suspected by him, and who was so very silly, to come out of the Castle and take part of an Entertainment, to  
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which the Marshal had invited the chieftest of the Town.

To proceed, at the same time when the *League* took Arms, and began the War, with surprizing by Strategem, or taking by force so many places from the King, they publish'd their Manifest, under the name of the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, who by the most capricious weakness that can be imagin'd, had got into his head, at the Age of threescore and so many years, that he shou'd succeed a King, who was yet in the flower of his Youth. That Cardinal in that paper, having bespatter'd the King, and the King of *Navarre*, with all the venom, which the factious ordinarily threw upon those two Princes, to make them odious to the people, concludes that his party had taken Arms, onely to preserve Religion, exterminate Heresie, to Banish from the Court those who abus'd the King's Authority, and to restore the three Orders of the Realm, to their primitive Estate.

The Proclamation of a King against his rebellious Subjects, ought to be no other

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other but a good Army, which he may have in a readines long before them, and reduce them to reason e'er they have time and means to gather Forces sufficient to oppose their Sovereign. This was what the King was advis'd to have done, by his best Servants, and especially by the Lord *John d' Aumont*, Count of *Chateau-Rou*, and Marshal of *France*: He, whose inviolable fidelity in the Service of the Kings his Masters, and his extraordinary Courage, tri'd in so many actions, joyn'd with a perfect knowledge of all that belongs to a great Captain, have render'd him one of the most illustrious persons of that Age. This faithfull Servant, not able to endure either the insolence of the Rebels, or the too great mildness of his Master, advis'd him resolutely, that with his Guards, and the old Regiments which he might suddenly form into an Army, he shou'd immediately March into *Champaign*, and there fall upon the *Leaguers*, who were yet in no condition to oppose him.

And truly it appear'd but too plainly that this was the Counsell which

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ought to have been follow'd. For at the beginning of this first War of the *League*, the Duke of *Guise* (to whom the *Spaniards*, after such magnificent promises of so many thousand Pistoles, had not yet paid one besides his Pension,) was not able with all his credit, and his cunning, to raise above five thousand men, the greatest part of which were of *Lorrain* Troops, who came stragling in by a File at a time, and whom the King, had there yet remain'd alive in his Soul but one spark of that Fire, which once so Nobly animated him, when being Duke of *Anjou*, he perform'd so many gallant actions, might have easily dispers'd with his Household Troops, and such of the Nobility as were about him, who had been immediately follow'd by the bravest of the Nation, had they once beheld him but on Horseback.

To this purpose, *Beavais Nangis*, who was infinitely surpris'd to find the Duke of *Guise* at *Chaälons*, so thinly attended by his Troops, having demanded of him what were his intentions, in case the King shou'd fall upon him before he had assembled greater

greater Forces, he answer'd him coldly, that then he had no other way to take, but to retire into *Germany* with what speed he cou'd. But the Queen Mother, who held a Correspondence at that time with the *Guises*, and that fatal love which the King had to a lazy quiet life, which he cou'd not quit without extreme repugnance, and which immediately replung'd him into his pleasant dreams, wherein he seem'd to be enchanted, render'd fruitless so wholesome an advice. Infomuch that he satisfied himself with making a feeble and timorous Declaration, wherein answering the Conspiratours in a kind of a respectfull way, as if he fear'd to give them any manner of offence, he seem'd rather to plead his Innocence before his Judges, than to speak awfully to his Rebels like a King; and in the mean time gave leisure to the Duke of *Guise* to form a Body of Ten or twelve thousand Foot, and about Twelve hundred Horse.

The King of *Navarre*, at whom the *Leaguers* particularly aim'd, did indeed make his Declaration, which he address'd to the King, and to all the


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Princes and Potentates of Christendom; but he made it in a manner, which was worthy of the greatness of his courage, by the masculine and eloquent Pen of *Du Plessis Mornay*; who particularly understood how to serve his Master according to his *Genius*. For, after having generously refused the calumnies, with which the Factious charg'd him, he made protestation that he was no ways an Enemy to the *Catholiques*, nor to their Religion, which he was most ready to embrace, whenever he should be instructed by another method, than what was us'd to him after *St. Bartholomew*, by holding the Dagger to his Throat. After which, he declar'd, that all those who had the malice, or the impudence, to say that he was an Enemy to Religion and to the State, and that he design'd to oppress either of them, by an imaginary *League*, which was falsely suppos'd to have been made to that intent at *Madgburg*, with respect to the King's Honour, Lyed in their throats, and above all others the Duke of *Guise*; and humbly begg'd his Majesty's permission, without regard to his

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his being first Prince of the blood, that for once he might levell himself to an equality with him, to the end that they might decide their quarrel, by the way of Arms, singly betwixt themselves, or by a Duel, two to two, ten to ten, or twenty against twenty, to spare the effusion of so much blood, as must inevitably be shed in a Civil War.

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But though he did his uttermost to excite in the King a generous resolution of Arming himself against his Rebels; though he offer'd to Combat them in his own person, and with all his Forces, in conjunction with those *Catholiques* who were Enemies to the *League*, and that he assur'd him of powerfull Succours from *England* and from *Germany*, which had been promis'd, yet cou'd he never strike more fire out of that irresolute soul, than onely some faint sparks of a languishing and impotent anger, which his fear and effeminacy soon quench'd; like those weak motions which men seem to make in frightfull dreams, when they rowze themselves a little but immediately yield to the force of sleep.

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'Tis acknowledg'd that he made Edicts against them, injoyning them to lay down Arms, and commanding all his Subjects to ring the Larum Bells against them, and to cut them in pieces if they disobey'd. He summon'd the Nobility, and Princes of the blood to attend him: he gave Commissions, and issued out Orders, to make a great Levy of *Reiters* and *Swisses*, and commanded his Guards to be in a readiness to march to the rendezvouz, which shou'd be appointed them. But after all, the insuperable passion which he had for quiet and the soft pleasures of the Cabinet, and the fear of the *League* with which he was possess'd by the Queen Mother, who held intelligence with the Duke of *Guise*, and magnifi'd his Forces incomparably beyond the life, together with the advice of some of his Council, who had rather he shou'd arm against the King of *Navarre* his faithfull Subject, than against *Catholiques* though Rebels, brought the matter to that pass at length, that he grew colder than ever, and left all things to the management of his Mother, to whom he gave full power of treating

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treating with the Associated Princes, *Ann. 1585.*  
and even of concluding as soon as possibly she cou'd with them, on what conditions she shou'd please.

Thus, after a Conference begun at *Epernay*, and afterwards finish'd at *Nemours*, on the Seventh of *July 1585.* a Peace was concluded with the *Leaguers*, granting them whatsoever they cou'd demand, either for Religion, or for themselves.

For what concern'd Religion, an Edi&ct was made, by which revoking all those that had formerly been granted in favour of the *Huguenots*, all exercise of the pretendedly reform'd Religion was prohibited: The Ministers were all commanded to depart the Kingdom a month after the publication of the Edi&ct, and all the King's Subjects enjoyn'd to make publique profession of the *Catholique* Faith within Six months, on pain of banishment. And, for the interest of the Confederate Princes, who affected above all things to have it believ'd, that their principal aim was the preservation of the *Catholique* Faith, a ratification was made of all which they



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they had done, as onely undertaken for the maintenance of Religion, and service of the King : and besides, there was a promise made them, that they shou'd command the Armies which were to put this Edict in Execution ; and to make War against the *Huguenots*, in case they refus'd submission to it. And for places of Caution, besides *Thoul* and *Verdun*, of which they had possess'd themselves at first, there were granted them three Towns in *Champaign*, *Rheims*, *Chaâlons* and *St. Dizier* ; *Ruë* in *Picardy*, besides those of which they were already Masters in that Province, which had declared first of all others for the *League*. *Soissons* in the Isle of *France* : in *Bretagne* *Dinan*, and *Concarneau* ; and *Dijon* and *Beaune* in *Bourgogne*. Yet more, there was money given them to pay the Souldiers they had Levied ; and to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to the Duke of *Guise*, his two Brothers, and their Cousins the Dukes of *Mercœur*, of *Aumale*, and of *Elbeuf*, to each of them a Company of *Arquebusiers* ( or *Dragoons* ) on Horseback, maintain'd for their Guard, as if they resolv'd by so glaring

glaring a mark of honour to make ostentation of their triumph over the King, against whom they had newly gain'd so great a victory without combat, onely by the terrour of their Arms; which contrary to the order of Nature, made, of a Master and a Sovereign, the Slave, and Executo<sup>r</sup> of the good will and pleasure of his Subjects.

Such was the Edict of *July*, which was extorted from the weakness of the King; who immediately perceiv'd, that instead of securing Religion, and his own repose, by granting all things to the *League*, as he was made to believe he shou'd, he had plung'd himself into a furious War, which might have been extremely dangerous to Religion, if the *Huguenots* had overcome the *Catholiques*. 'Tis what he himself took notice of when amidst the acclamations and cries of *Vive le Roy*, which resounded from every part, when he went in Person to the Parliament, to cause the Edict to be inroll'd, he was not able to hold from saying to some about him, with a sigh, I much fear, that in going about to destroy the Preachments,  
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we shall hazard the Mass; which afterwards he repeated more than once upon several occasions.

And truly as he had foretold, immediately upon the publication of the Edict, the War was kindled throughout all *France*. For, when the King of *Navarre* had notice that the King had verified the Edict, which was in reality a solemn declaration of War against him, he united himself more firmly than ever with the Prince of *Condé* and the whole *Huguenot* Party, in an Assembly which was held for that purpose, at *Bergerac*. And these two Princes going from *Guyenne* into *Languedoc*, to the Marshal Duke of *Montmorancy*, who was Governour of that Province, gave him so well to understand, that it was not onely his particular interest to oppose the *Guises*, who lov'd him not, but also for the service of the King, whose Authority was struck at, and for the preservation of the Monarchy, whose foundations the *Leaguers* were undermining, by open breach of the *Salique* Law, that they brought him over into their Confederacy, with the whole party of the *Politiques*

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*litiques*, who had ever acknowledg'd him their Head. *Ann. 1585.*

Thus, instead of the *Catholiques* being united against the *Huguenots*, as they had always been, during the preceding Reigns under *Henry* the Third and his Successour, they were divided into two parties; whereof one was the *Leaguers*, and the other the *Politiques*; who by another name were call'd the Royalists. And at that time it was manifestly visible, that the War had no reference to Religion, as those of the *League* pretended, but was a War purely of State Interest; since the Duke of *Montmorancy*, Head of those *Catholiques* who were united with the *Huguenots*, to maintain the Authority of the King, and the Royal Family, as was declar'd in their Manifest of the Tenth of *August*, shew'd himself on all occasions a most zealous Defender of Religion; therein following the example of the Great Constable his Father.

'Tis certain, that he protected it so well in his Government, that the King of *Navarre* cou'd scarcely bring the *Huguenots* to confide in him; because he  
always

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always oppos'd the progress of their designs in that Province. He also extended his Zeal into the County of *Avignon*, and hinder'd Heresie there from taking root: For which Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, thought fit to make him great acknowledgments in many Letters. It was not therefore with any design of ruining Religion that the King of *Navarre*, as Head of the *Huguenots* being united with one part of the *Catholiques*, made that War; but for preservation of the King and State, which the *League* endeavour'd to oppress; as the King himself understood it to be, not long time after, declaring that he had not a better servant than the *Marshal* of *Montmorancy*. And such indeed did he always continue, so firm to the interest of that Prince, and of his Successour the King of *Navarre*, that the latter of them honour'd him as a Father, by which name he first call'd him, and afterwards being King of *France*, made him Countable in recompence of his great deserts and service to the State: And from that time forward, that he might treat him with the same kindness which

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which *Henry* the Second used to *Anne* Ann. 1584.  
*de Montmorancy*, the Father of this Duke, he never call'd him by any other name, than that of Partner. Thus, by the joyning of those Forces which so great a Man brought over with him to the King of *Navarre*, that generous Prince was in a condition to defend himself at least against the Party of the *League*; who were not onely countenanc'd by the authority of the King, whom they had as it were dragg'd into that War, but also drew great advantages from those Spiritual thunderbolts which the Pope darted the same year against the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*.

Those of the *League* had more than once already employed their utmost interest with Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, to obtain of him, that he wou'd approve the Treaty of their *Affociation*; a thing they passionately desir'd: And being on the point of declaring themselves more openly than they had yet done, and to take Arms, after the death of the Duke of *Alanson*, they renew'd their solicitations to his Holiness more earnestly than ever, to obtain

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obtain from him that Declaration, thereby to authorize their attempts, and insinuate themselves the more into the hearts of those people, who were obedient to the Holy See. To this effect they dispatch'd once more to *Rome*, Father *Claude Matthew*, who, according to his custome, fail'd not to apply himself to the Cardinal of *Pelleve*, the most stiff Partisan which the *League* ever had, and the Eternal Solicitour of their Cause in the Court of *Rome*.

This Cardinal was descended of an ancient and illustrious house in *Normandy*, (as 'tis deliver'd to us by the *Sieur de Brantome*) from whence are issued the *Marquesses de Beury*, and the *Counts de Flers*. Which ought to mortifie those hot Writers, who in hatred to the *League*, have traduc'd him as a man of mean Parentage, who from a Scullion of a College, came to be a Servitour, or Sizer, to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. 'Tis true indeed, that because there was not much to be had out of a Patrimony, which was to be divided in shares amongst eight Brothers, he put himself into the service of that Cardinal, who

who made him Steward of his House. *Ann. 1584.*  
But it is not to be inferr'd from thence  
as some have maliciously done,  
that he was of low Extraction; nei-  
ther is it to be denied, that he had  
many good qualities, which being  
supported by the credit of the House  
of *Guise*, to which he was entirely de-  
voted, gain'd him the esteem of *Henry*  
the Second, who made him Master  
of Requests, and bestow'd on him the  
Bishoprick of *Amiens*, from whence,  
sometime after, he was translated to  
the Archbishoprick of *Sens*, by the fa-  
vour of *Lewis* Cardinal of *Guise*, who  
also procur'd the Hat for him. So  
many benefits receiv'd from that po-  
werfull family, bound him so firmly,  
and with so blind a passion to the  
interest of the *Guises*, that he us'd his  
utmost endeavours, in favour of the  
*League* against *Henry* the Fourth, even  
after the conversion of that Prince;  
till seeing at *Paris*, where he then  
resided, the entry of that victorious  
King, to the incredible joy of all the  
*Parisians*, he di'd of anguish and de-  
spight.

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Now,



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Now this Cardinal and Father *Matthew*, well hop'd, that his Holiness seeing the *League* become so powerfull, that it was in a condition of making War, wou'd declare for it, at that time. On this expectation, they renewed with great warmth the Solicitations which they had often before made to him; and continued to ply him till his death; which happen'd the same year, without their obtaining from him any part of their pretensions.

He had for Successour that famous Cordelier, *Felix Peretti*, Cardinal of *Montalto*, when he was created Pope, call'd *Sixtus* the Fifth. He who from the most miserable way of living, to which he was reduc'd by the wretched meanness of his birth, as being no better than a Hogherd in his Youth, rais'd himself step by step, by his merit and his industry, to the Triple Crown; which he wore more haughtily during the five years of his Pontificate, than his Predecessours had done for many Ages. As he had been a great Inquisitour, and one of the most severe who had ever exercis'd that

that office, those Agents of the *League*, Ann. 1585. in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, believ'd they shou'd easily obtain his approbation, and that joyning his Spiritual Arms with their Temporal, he wou'd thunder out his *Anathema* against the King of *Navarre*.


But they mistook the Man with whom they had to deal: for as he was of an humour extremely fierce, haughty, imperious, and inflexible, and wou'd give the World to understand, that he was govern'd by no reasons but his own, and least of any by the *Spaniards*, whom he hated, he immediately took up an air of Majesty in his discourse with them, which made them find to their cost, that he suffer'd not himself to be deluded with appearances, and that he was a Master as discerning as he was absolute. In effect, they were infinitely surpriz'd to find they had not the least power upon a Soul, which they then understood to be of quite another make, than what he formerly appear'd, so moderate, so humble, so soft and so complying, when he was Cardinal, with his head stooping towards the

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earth, and looking there (as he own'd afterwards himself) for the Popedom, which finally he found.

In the mean while, as on the other side he thought he had a fair occasion, to make an ostentatious shew of the Supreme power of the Popedom, which he coveted to make formidable to the whole World, by some extraordinary manner of procedure, he made a little time afterwards of his own mere motion, and when no body importun'd him, a most thundering Bull against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*. For after he had in it exalted infinitely the Power and Authority Pontifical, above all Kings and Potentates of the Earth, so far as to affirm, that he cou'd overturn their Thrones, by pronouncing irrevocable judgment upon them, whensoever they shou'd be wanting to their duty, and trample them under his feet as Ministers of Satan; and after having rail'd at large, in the rudest and most contemptuous words he cou'd invent against those two Princes, he deprives them at last of all their Estates and Demeans, of which they

they then stood possess'd, and declares them incapable, both in their own persons and in their posterity, for ever to succeed to any Estate or Principality whatsoever, and particularly to the Kingdom of *France*, absolves from their Oath of Fidelity all their Vassals and their Subjects, whom he forbids most strictly to obey them; and gives notice to the King of *France* to assist in the execution of his Decree.

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As much as this Bull, which was sign'd by five and twenty Cardinals, and sent by the *Pope* into *France*, rejoyc'd the party of the *League*, who took care to publish it, so much did it afflict those *Catholiques* and good *Frenchmen*, who were opposite to that Faction: They were not able to endure, that the *Popes* (who had formerly been in subjection to Kings and Emperours, whom they thought themselves bound to obey; as *St. Gregory* the Great protests to the Emperour *Maurice*, and the *Popes Leo* the fourth and *Pelagius*, to our Kings *Lothaire* and *Childebert*,) shou'd now dare to think of deposing them, and absol-

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Ann. 1585.

ving their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, against the declar'd Law of God, which enjoyns Obedience in so many places of the Scripture, even when Kings shou'd be wanting to their Duty.

God, (said they) has so divided those two Powers, the Temporal, and the Spiritual, amongst Kings and Princes on the one side; and on the other betwixt the *Pope* and *Bishops*, who are Princes of the Church, that as it is not lawfull for the secular Power to interfere with that of the Spiritual, nor to lay hands upon the Center, so neither is it lawfull for the Spiritual to attempt any thing against the Secular, by abusing that Ghostly Authority which was bequeath'd to them by *Jesus Christ*, onely to exercise in those affairs which are not of the World; in the Government of which, they have no manner of concernment, to intermeddle either directly or indirectly; much less have they the power of deposing Princes, and of hindring (by the censures, and fulminations of the Church,) the due obedience of Subjects to their Sovereigns.\* They added,

ded, that the Doctrine opposite to this, sustain'd by some Writers on the other side of the *Alpes*, to flatter and sooth the Court of *Rome*, had always been condemn'd by the decisions of the *Gallicane* Church, by the decrees of Parliaments, and by the protestations which our Kings have often made against this Invasion of their Prerogative, unheard of in the Church of God, during more than eleven Ages, and never admitted in the *French* Nation.

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And while I am writing this part of my History, on this instant twenty third day of *March*, I am inform'd that there is a perpetual and irrevocable Edict enregister'd in the Parliament; by which *Louis the Great*, who well knows how to maintain with so much power the rights of his Crown, and with so much piety those of the Church, ordains that the absolute Independence of Kings, in Temporal affairs, (which no Authority whatsoever shall presume to shock, either directly or indirectly on whatsoever pretence,) shall be maintain'd and taught in his Dominions by the professors of

K 4 Divinity,

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Divinity, Seculars and Regulars, conformably to what the general Assembly of the Clergy, representing the *Gallicane* Church, has solemnly declar'd in expounding the opinion, which both it self and we are bound to receive on that Subject.

To pursue our History, the Bull of *Sixtus* no sooner appear'd in *France*, through the care of the *Leaguers* to divulge it, but a multitude of Writers answer'd it, both of the one and the other Religion, who agreed in one and the same Doctrine, of the independence of Kings on any other power but that of God alone in reference to their Crowns: shewing the invalidity of that pretended Authority of *Popes*, some quietly contenting themselves with the force of reason, without mixing Gaul and Passion in their Writings, and others in the declamatory Style, abounding with furious Invectives. The sharpest, and most splenetique of the latter sort, though not the weakest and least knowing, is the Authour of the Treatise called *Brutum Fulmen*, which some have father'd on *Francis Hoffman* a Civilian.

But

But that Writer whoever he were, had more strongly maintain'd the rights of Sovereigns, had he written with a more moderate Zeal, without giving the reins to his passion against *Popes*, towards whom, even when we blame their failings in some particulars, we are never permitted to be wanting in respect.

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The Parliament which is always vigorous in opposing such Attempts, fail'd not to make their most humble Remonstrations to the King, worthy of the Wisdom, and Constancy, which that August Body makes appear on all occasions relating to the defence of the rights of the Crown, and the privileges of the Realm. The King of *Navarre* added his own to these, wherein he represents to the King, that His Majesty was more concern'd than he, not to suffer this insolent and unmaintainable attempt of *Sixtus*. And as he thought himself oblig'd, by some extraordinary and high manner of proceeding, to revenge the affront which was put upon him in that Bull, wherein he was treated so unworthily, He both had the



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the courage, and found the means, of fixing even upon the Gates of the *Vatican*, his solemn Protestation against it. In which, after having first appeal'd, as of an abuse, to the Court of Peers, and to a general Council, as superiour to a *Pope*, he protests the Nullity of all *Sixtus's* procedure: And farther adds, That as the Princes and Kings his Predecessours have well known how to repress *Popes*, when they forgot themselves, and pass'd beyond the bounds of their Vocation, by confounding Temporals with Spirituals, so he Hopes that God will enable him to revenge upon *Sixtus* the injury which is done in his Person to the whole House of *France*, imploring for this purpose the succour and assistance of all the Kings, and Princes, and Republicues of Christendom, who as well as himself are assaulted in that Bull.

Though *Pope Sixtus*, following the bent of his own temper, which was naturally violent and inflexible, revok'd not his Bull for this; nevertheless, as he had a Soul that was truly great, he cou'd not but acknowledge that  
this

this action was extremely generous ; nor cou'd he hinder himself from telling the *French* Ambassadour, that he wish'd the King his Master had as much courage and resolution against his real Enemies, as the *Navarrois* had made appear against those who hated his Heresie, but not his Person. Ann. 1585.

But that wish of his was very fruitless: for that poor spirited Prince was in such awe of the *League*, that whatsoever Remonstrances were made him, and though the example of the late King his Brother was propos'd to him, who had acted with much more vigour on the like occasion, on behalf of the Queen of *Navarre*, whom they endeavour'd to have depos'd at *Rome*, that he durst never permit any opposition to that Bull. Infomuch that he contented himself barely, with not allowing it to be judicially publish'd in *France*, without so much as once demanding of the *Pope* that he wou'd revoke it, as *Charles* the Ninth had done, who by a manly protestation constrain'd *Pope Pius* the Fourth to recall that Bull, which he had made

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made against Queen *Jane d' Albret*. This was the effect of that fear, so unworthy of a King, which *Henry* the Third had of the *League*; which taking advantage of his weakness, became more arrogant and more audacious to oblige him, as in effect it did, in spite of his repugnance, to infringe that Peace which he had given to *France*, and to make War against the King of *Navarre*, who had at all times most punctually obey'd him, even when he forbade him to take Arms, and to March in defence of him against the *League*. All he cou'd obtain of that party was by gaining a little time to keep matters from coming to extremity, (the dangerous consequence of which he well foresaw.) And to this purpose *Messire Philip de Lenoncour*, who was afterwards Cardinal, and the President *Brulart*, with some Doctours of the *Sorbonne*, were sent by him to the King of *Navarre*, to persuade him to return into the Communion of the *Catholique Church*, and to suspend the Exercise of *Calvinism*, at least for the space of six Months, during which, some expedient might be found to accom-

accommodate all things amicably. *Ann. 1585.*

A better choice cou'd not possibly be made, for the treating an Affair of that importance, than was the person of that famous *Nicholas de Brulart*, Marquis of *Sillery*, whose approv'd fidelity in the Service of our Kings, and whose Wisedom and ripe experience, in the management of affairs, were at length recompens'd by *Henry* the fourth, by conferring on him the highest Honours of the Robe, in which Office he gloriously ended his days, under the Reign of the late King. 'Tis the distinguishing character of that illustrious House, to have the advantage of being able to reckon, amongst the great men who are descended from it, two Chamberlains of Kings, one Master of the Engines and Machines, one Commandant of the Cavalry, kill'd at the Battail of *Agin-court*, in fighting for his Country, one Procureur General, and three Presidents of the Parliament of *Paris*, two Premier Presidents of the Parliament of *Bourgogne*, and above all a Chancellour of *France*, to consummate the Honour of their House, and one

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one of the most splendid titles of Nobility, which the Sword or long Robe can bestow.

'Twas then this excellent Person, who was joyn'd in Commission with the *Sieur of Lenoncour*, for this important Negotiation. Because it was hop'd from his address, and the mildness of his behaviour, which was insinuating and persuasive, that he above all others, would be able to win the King of *Navarre* to a compliance with his Majesties desire, that he might not be constrain'd against his own inclinations, to bring a War upon him. But as that happy hour was not yet come; And that it was an ill expedient to procure the Conversion of a Man, and especially of a Great Prince, who has where-withall to defend himself when he is attack'd, to bring Faith to him with threatning, like a Challenge, and to shew him the Arms which are in a readiness to constrain him; he onely answer'd that he had always been dispos'd, as he then was, to receive the instructions which shou'd be given him, according to the Decisions of a free General Council, and not with  
a Dag:

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a Dagger at his Throat, which was the Argument they us'd to him, after the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*.

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There was therefore a necessity at last of coming to a War, according to the wishes of the *League*; which believ'd it was able to overwhelm at one push, both that Prince and his whole party, before he could be recruited with Foreign Forces: But it was extremely deceiv'd in that expectation.

For of the two Armies, which the King was oblig'd, according to the treaty of *Nemours*, to give to the Command of two *Lorrain* Princes, the one to the Duke of *Guise*, in opposition to the *Germans*, if they shou'd attempt an entrance into *France*, to which they had been solicited by the *Huguenots*, the other to the Duke of *Mayenne*, for his expedition into *Guyenne* against the King of *Navarre*, whose defeat and ruine the *Leaguers* concluded to be inevitable; the last of the two, after a Campaign of ten Months, without performance of any thing, but onely the taking in some few places of small importance, which afterwards were easily retaken, was in a manner wholly

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wholly ruin'd, and dissipated for want of Money, of Provisions, and Ammunition, of a train of Artillery, and other Supplies, which were always promis'd them, but never sent them; and especially by the ill intelligence, which was betwixt the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Marshals of *Matignon* and *Biron*; the first Governour of *Guyenne*, and the last Commander of a little Army in *Poitou*, which was to have cover'd that of the Duke.

For those two faithfull Servants of the King, well knowing the secret of their Master, who was wholly averse from the destruction of the King of *Navarre*, for fear himself and the whole Royal House shou'd be left at the mercy of the *League*, which he knew wou'd never spare them, artfully broke all the measures of the Duke of *Mayenne*; Insomuch that he found himself constrain'd, to return to the King without bringing along with him the King of *Navarre* Captive, as he had boastingly promis'd him to doe, and without performing any thing of that, which the *League* expected from his Zeal to the party. As for the Duke

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Duke of Guise, finding no *Germans* Ann. 1585.  
upon the Frontiers of *Champagn* to  
combat, and besides not being accom-  
panied with any great Forces, his  
whole expedition was terminated,  
in taking *Douzy* and *Raucour*, two  
small Towns belonging to the Duke  
of *Bouillon*, against whom the Duke  
of *Lorraine* made War, concerning  
which I shall say nothing, because it  
has no relation to the History of the  
*League*.

On the other side, the *Huguenots*  
manag'd their affairs not much better;  
'Tis true, that the *Sieur* of *Lesdigui-  
eres* had some advantage over the  
*League* in *Dauphine*, that he made him-  
self Master of certain places, and  
amongst others of *Montelimar* with  
the Castle, which he took by a regu-  
lar form'd Siege, and *Ambrun* which  
he surpris'd; and where the rich Or-  
naments of the Metropolitan Church,  
were plundered by the Souldiers, ac-  
cording to the custome of the *Hugue-  
nots*, which, though he was a man  
of strict Discipline, and moderate in  
his Nature, he was no way able to  
oppose. But, besides that, they were  
L roughly



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roughly handled in other Provinces, and that all which cou'd possibly be done by the King of *Navarre*, who had not yet drawn together all the Troops which he expected, was onely to stand upon the defensive; they receiv'd a great blow, by the memorable defeat which was given to the Prince of *Conde* who was like to have perish'd, in that unhappy attempt which he made upon the Castle of *Angers*. That Prince who had made up a little body of an Army about the Skirts of *St. Jean d' Angely*, which he held in stead of *Peronne*, had successfully begun his Campaign in *Poitou*; having driven out of that Province the Duke of *Mercaur*, who was come from his Government of *Bretagne*, to the assistance of the *League*. And as after that gallant action, he had re-inforc'd his Army, with Troops which swarm'd to him, from the neighbouring Provinces, upon the report of his Victory, he undertook the Seige of *Broüage* in favour of the *Rochellers*, who suppli'd him with Money and Amunition.

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He was accompanied with a great number of brave Gentlemen, and Lords of great Quality, amongst others by *Rene* Vicount of *Roban*, *Francis* Count of *Rochefoucault*, *Montgion* Lieutenant to the Prince, *George Clermont d' Amboise*, *Louis de St. Gelais*, and *Claude de La Trimouille* who was afterwards Duke of *Thouers*, and whose Sister he then sought in Marriage, whom he espous'd not long after; and there is great appearance of probability, that it was rather on that account, than any motive of Conscience and Religion, that this young Lord, far from following the example of his Father, who declar'd himself Head of the *League* at *Poitou*, gave into the other extreme and turn'd *Huguenot*, together with his Sister *Charlotte Catharine de la Trimouille* to have the Honour of being Married to the Prince of *Conde*. How strong is the Power of Ambition, over minds that are dazled with the deceitfull Splendour of wordly Greatness, that it should be able to oblige a Brother and Sister issued from *Louis de Trimouille* and *Jane de Montmorancy* Daughter of the great

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Constable

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Constable both of them firm *Catholiques*, as were all their illustrious Ancestours, to turn *Calvinists*, one to be Brother in Law to a Prince of the Bloud, and the other to be his Wife!

From this Marriage there was Born on the first of *September*, in the Year 1588, the late Prince *Henry de Bourbon*, who by a most happy Destiny, directly opposite to that of his Mother, being issued from a Father and Mother so obstinate in *Calvinism*, became one of the most Zealous Princes for the *Catholique* Faith, that this Nation cou'd ever boast, and he, who declar'd himself the greatest Enemy of *Calvinism*. So also has he left to Posterity a most glorious remembrance of his name, which shall never perish amongst all good *Frenchmen*, for having constantly defended Religion with all his power, exercising in that Holy and Divine Employment, both his Valour and his Wit, which he had in perfection, as he made appear on all occasions, and principally in the Counsel whereof he was cheif, when he died of such a death, as the  
Acts

Acts of all the most solid vertues, where-  
with it was accompanied, render'd pre-  
cious in the sight of God. I believe my  
self oblig'd in point of gratitude to doe  
justice in this little Panegyrique to the  
great *Merit* of that Prince, who has for-  
merly done me the Honour, on many  
occasions, to give me particular marks  
of his esteem and his affection; and  
hope, that they who take the pains to  
peruse this work, will not blame me for  
this short Digression, taken occasionally  
by writing of the Prince his Father, to  
whose actions I now return.

The Nobility who were come to  
attend and serve him in that important  
Siege of *Broüage*, had brought along  
with them a considerable number of  
*Huguenot* Gentlemen, as also some  
*Catholiques*, who were Enemies to  
the *League*. And with these Recruits  
he had almost reduc'd the place to  
terms of yielding, when changing his  
design all on the sudden, like an un-  
experien'd Captain, he lost the fruit  
of his former labours, and plung'd  
himself into extreme danger. For ha-  
ving understood, that Captain *Roche-*  
*Mort*, one of his best Officers had sur-

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priz'd the Castle of *Angers*, in the absence of the *Count de Brisac*, who being made Governour of it after the death of the Duke of *Alanson*, had declar'd himself for the *League*, he left before *Broüage* the *Sieur de la Roche Baucour St. Meme* with the Infantry, to continue the Siege, and march'd himself with all the Cavalry, consisting of two thousand Horse, to relieve that Captain, who with Seventeen or Eighteen Souldiers onely held the Castle of *Angers* against the Burghers who besieg'd him. But the Prince setting out somewhat of the latest, and marching too slowly, when the fortune of his Enterprize depended on celerity, he had no sooner past the River of *Loyre* in Boats, betwixt *Saumur* and *Angers*, but he receiv'd advice that *Roche-Mort* being kill'd with a Musquet shot, as he was looking through a Casement, the Castle had been surrender'd two days since.

Notwithstanding this Misfortune, which the greatest part of his Souldiers wou'd not believe, having joyn'd fifteen hundred men, whom *Clermont d' Amboise*, a little before the Siege of *Broüage*

*Broüage*, was gone to raise for his service in *Anjou*, he took a resolution to attack the Suburbs: But was vigorously repuls'd by the good Troups which the King had sent thither to assist the Citizens, who had retrench'd themselves against the Castle which they held besieg'd. After which, intending to repass the River, he found that not onely all the passages were guarded, but that also he was ready to be compass'd round by the Troups of the King and of the *League*, who were gathering together from all parts, both on this side the *Loyre* and beyond it, to inclose him. Insomuch that, not being able either to advance or to retreat, without being taken or cut in pieces with all his men, they were at length forc'd to disband, and dividing themselves into small companies of Seven and Eight, or Ten and Twelve together, every man being willing to save one, march'd onely by night through bye passages out of the common Road, and through Woods for fear of being met with, either by Souldiers or Peasants, who kill'd as many of them as they cou'd find, and

*Ann. 1585.* pursued them, as they wou'd so many Wolves, when they caught them entering into a Sheepfold. The Prince himself had much adoe to escape, the tenth man, and disguis'd, into the Lower *Normandy*, from whence he pass'd in a Fisher's Barque betwixt *Auranche* and *St. Malo* into the Isle of *Guernsey*, and from thence aboard an *English* Vessel into *England*; where he was very well receiv'd by *Queen Elizabeth*, who sent him back to *Rockelle* the Year following with a considerable supply.

In the mean time *St. Mesme*, (who during this unhappy expedition of the Prince, continued the Siege of *Broüage*, finding himself too weak to resist the *Marshal de Matignon*, who advanc'd by order from the King, to force his Retrenchments, with an Army of experienc'd Souldiers,) truss'd up his Baggage, and retir'd with what speed he cou'd, but in so much fear and disorder, that he lost great numbers of his men in his hasty march, and particularly in passing the *Charante*, where *St. Luc*, Governour of *Broüage* who always shew'd himself as brave in War,

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War, as he was agreeable at Court in Peace, having charg'd him in the Reer, cut it entirely off : Thus the *League*, and the *Calvinism*, lost on that occasion, the one the Castle of *Angers*, wherein the King plac'd a Governour, on whose fidelity he might rely, and the other almost all its Forces, which after that shock, durst no longer keep the Field.

This furnish'd the King with an opportunity to publish new Ordinances, by which he commanded the Goods of Rebels to be seiz'd ; and particularly of those who had followed the Prince of *Conde*, with promise nevertheless of restoring them, when they shou'd return into the *Catholique* Church, and give good security of remaining in it ; Ordaining farther, in execution of the Edict of *July*, that all such shou'd be forc'd to depart the Realm, who refus'd to make abjuration of *Calvinism*, into the hands of the Bishops ; and it was enjoyn'd them to make it according to the Form which was compos'd by *William Ruzè* Bishop of *Angers*. It was thus practis'd because



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cause it had been observ'd, that the greatest part of the *Huguenots*, had invented a trick, neither to lose their Goods, nor to leave the Kingdom ; but thought it was lawfull for them to accommodate themselves to the times, and so deceive men by making a false profession of Faith, onely for form sake, and in external obedience to the Edicts : which they express'd by these words, *Since it has so pleas'd the King*, with which they never fail'd to preface the Oath of Abjuration when they took it.

Now this prudent Bishop having observ'd that intolerable abuse, which was follow'd by an infinite number of Sacrileges, and most horrible profanation of the Sacraments, which those false Converts made no scruple to receive, betraying by that damnable imposture both the one Religion and the other, wou'd admit none into the Communion of the Church, who had not first made his profession of Faith according to his form, which much resembled that of *Pius* the Fourth, and which from that time forward was and is presented to be sign'd by all those who abjure Heresie.

'Tis

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'Tis most certain that these Edicts, Ann. 1585.  
joyn'd with the extreme weakness in  
which the *Huguenot* party then was,  
made in a little time many more con-  
verts, true or false, than had been  
made by the Massacre of *St. Bartholo-*  
*mew*. But also on the other side, they  
occasion'd the *Protestants* of *Germany*,  
whom the King of *Navarre* cou'd ne-  
ver draw to his party against the  
*Leaguers*, now to incline to his as-  
sistance. Two years were almost past  
since that King, who desir'd to shelter  
himself from the Conspiracy which the  
*League* had made principally against  
him, with purpose to exclude him  
from the Crown, against the funda-  
mental Law of the Realm, had solici-  
ted those Princes, by the *Sieur de Se-*  
*gur Pardaillan*, and *de Clermont*  
to raise an Army for his assistance;  
and elsewhere by the intermission of  
*Geneva*, he press'd the *Protestant Can-*  
*tons* of *Switzerland*, to make a *Coun-*  
*ter-League* with the *Germans*, for the  
same purpose. Queen *Elizabeth*, who  
besides the interest of her *Protestant*  
Religion, had a particular esteem and  
love for that Prince, the Duke of  
*Boüillon*

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*Boüillon* a declar'd Enemy of the *Lor-rain* Princes, and the *Count de Mont-beliard*, *Frederick de Wirtemberg*, a most zealous *Calvinist*, us'd their utmost endeavours with those *German Protestants* to stir them up: all which notwithstanding, they were very loath to resolve on a War with the King of *France* their Allye; saying always that they wou'd never engage themselves in it, till it was clearly manifest, that the War which was made against the *Huguenots*, was not a War of the Government against its Rebels, but purely, and onely against the *Protestant* Religion, which they intended to extirpate. But when they saw before their eyes those Edicts and Ordinances of the King, who was absolutely resolv'd not to suffer any other Religion beside the *Catholique* in his Kingdom, and that otherways they had given them all the security they cou'd desire for the payment of their Army; then they took a Resolution of Levying great Forces, and of assisting the King of *Navarre* powerfully, after sending a solemn Embassy to the King, to demand of him the Revocation

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cation of his Edicts, and an entire liberty of Conscience for the *Protestants*. *Ann. 1586.*

The King of *Denmark*, the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the Prince Palatine *John Casimir*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, of *Pomerania*, and of *Brunswick*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and *John Frederick*, Administrator of *Magdeburg*, were the Princes who Associated themselves with the Towns of *Francford*, *Ulmes*, *Nuremberg*, and *Strasburg*, to send this Embassy to the King; who, not being resolv'd what to answer them, for fear of provoking the *League*, in case he shou'd grant them their demands, or of drawing on himself the united Forces of almost all the *Protestants* of *Germany*, in case of a refusal, to gain time, took a Progress as far as *Lyons*, while the Deputies of those Princes were at *Paris*: which caus'd the Count of *Montbeliard*, and the Count of *Isembourg*, who were the chief of that Embassy, to return. But so did not the rest, as being obstinately set down to wait the King's return, who was at last constrain'd, being overcome by their extreme persistence, whom

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whom he well hop'd to have tir'd first, to give them the Audience which they demanded. He who was spokesman for the rest, loosing all manner of respect, made a blunt and haughty Speech, reproching him in certain terms which were but too intelligible, that against his Conscience and his Honour, he had violated his faith so solemnly given to his most faithfull Subjects of the *Protestant* Religion, to whom he had promis'd the free exercise of it, they remaining, as since that time they had always done, in that perfect obedience, which is due from Subjects to their Sovereigns.

That Prince, who at other times was but too meek and patient, or rather too weak and timorous, was so much offended at this brutal insolence, that he was not able to curb himself from breaking out into choler on this occasion. For he repli'd smartly, to them, with that air of Majesty and fierceness, which he knew well to take up, whensoever it pleas'd him, that as he had not taken the liberty to give Laws to their Masters of ruling  
their

their Estates according to their own liking, and changing the Civil and Religious constitution of their Government, so neither on his side would he suffer them to intermeddle in those alterations which he thought fit to make in his Edicts; according to the diversity of times and of occasions, for the good of his People, of whom the greatest part depended on the true *Roman Catholique* Religion, which the most Christian Kings his Predecessours had ever maintain'd in *France*, to the exclusion of all others. Afterwards, retiring into his Cabinet, where after he had revolv'd in his mind, what had been said on either part, he was of opinion, that his Answer had not been sharp enough, he sent them by one of the Secretaries of State a Paper written with his own hand, which was read to them; and in which he gave the Lie in formal terms to all those who said he had done against his Honour, or violated his Faith, in revoking the Edict of *May*, by that of *July*; after which it was told them from him, that they had no more to doe, than to return home; without expecting any farther Audience. This

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This was certainly an Answer worthy of a great Monarch, had he maintain'd it by his actions as well as by his words ; and had he not shewn by his after conduct, the fear he had of this irruption of the *Germans*. For, in order to prevent it, he seem'd to descend too much from that high and Supreme Majesty of a King, by treating almost upon terms of equality with the Duke of *Guise*, and offering him, besides whatever advantages he cou'd wish, in Honours and in Pensions, and many Towns for his security, which had made him a kind of Independant Royalty in the Kingdome on this onely condition, that he would be reconcil'd to the King of *Navarre*, and give him leave to live in quiet ; as if it were the Duke, and not the King, who had the power of giving Peace.

Though these advantageous profers, were sufficient to have tempted the Duke's ambition, nevertheless he wou'd not accept them, because he hop'd to satisfie it much better by continuing the War in which he had engag'd the King ; who was not able to recall his promise: besides, he was not

not willing to destroy the opinion <sup>Ann. 1586.</sup> which the people had conceiv'd of him, that he acted by no motive of self-interest, but onely for the Cause of God and of Religion. This expedient of Peace therefore failing the King, who had ardently desir'd it, he employ'd another, which was to intreat *Q. Katharine de Medices*, to confer with the King of *Navarre*, her Son-in-Law; to try if by her usual arts, she cou'd induce him to some accommodation, which might be satisfactory to the *League*, and stop the *Germans*, of whose Succours, his peace once made, that King wou'd have no farther use. The Queen Mother, who at that time desir'd the peace at least as much as he, because she fear'd to be left at the discretion of either of the two parties, by whom she was equally hated, willingly accepted that Commission; grounding her hopes on those tricks, and artificial ways, by which she had so often succeeded, on the like occasions.

Having then advanc'd as far as *Champigny*, a fair house belonging to  
M the



*Ann. 1586* the Duke of *Montpensier*, she manag'd the matter in such sort, by the mediation of that Prince, who went to visit the King of *Navarre* from her, that it was agreed there shou'd be a Conference. After many difficulties which were rais'd concerning it, and which, with much canvassing, they got over; the place was appointed to be *St. Brix*, a Castle near *Cognac*, belonging to the *Sieur de Fors*, who was of the King's party. She came thither attended by the Dukes of *Montpensier* and of *Nevers*, Marshal *Biron*, and some other Lords, who were no friends to the *Guises* or the *Leaguers*, to the end that Conference might be the more amicable. The King of *Navarre* came also thither, with the Prince of *Condè*, *Vicount de Turenne*, and some others the most considerable of their Party.

It appear'd manifestly at this Interview, that the Queen held no longer that Authority, which had been yielded to her in the former Conferences, wherein she had carried all things according to her own desire, by the wonderfull Ascendant, which she had over their minds; And she understood, but

but too well from the very beginning, Ann. 1585.  
that she had to doe with such as were distrustfull of her subtilties, and who wou'd not suffer themselves to be surpris'd easily, as some of them had been, on *St. Bartholomew's* day, whereof they had not yet worn out the remembrance. For they wou'd never adventure themselves all three together in the Chamber appointed for the Conference; when the King of *Navarre* was there, the Prince and Vicount, well accompanied, made a guard at the door; and when either of the other two enter'd, the King of *Navarre* and the other did the like for him: that they might not put themselves unwarily into her hands, on whose word they had no reason to rely; and who dar'd not to arrest any of them singly, the two remaining being at liberty, and in condition to give themselves satisfaction on the Aggressours.

Thus, being too suspicious, and their minds too much embitter'd, to act calmly and reasonably in this Conference, it went off in three Enter-views; which were made in resenting terms, and mutual reproaches, with-

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out coming to any amicable conclusion. The Prince of *Condè*, according to his lofty and severe humour, spoke always more sharply than the other two : rejecting all methods of reconciliation, and saying, with an air extremely fierce, that there was no belief to be given to those who had so basely falsified their Faith, in violating the Edicts of the King, to satisfy the Seditious and the Rebels. The King of *Navarre*, of a temper much more sweet and complaisant, though with a becoming noble boldness, he gave the Queen to understand that he had no great reason to commend her proceedings in reference to himself, yet he never forgot the respect which was due to her Character. And upon occasion of her remonstrating to him, that the peace of *France* depended on his conversion; since the onely fear of falling under the dominion of an *Huguenot* Prince, had made and arm'd the *League*, which had no quarrel to His person, but onely to his Heresie : his answer was no more than this ; That Religion was onely a pretence, which the Authours of the *League* had

had taken up, to cover their ambition, which manifestly design'd the total ruine of the Royal family ; and as to his conversion, he was always dispos'd to it, on condition he might be instructed in the truth by a free Council, which he had oftentimes demanded ; and in the definitive judgment of which, both he and his party would wholly acquiesce. He consented even to a Truce of twelve days, during which, the King's good pleasure shou'd be consulted, by proposing to him that condition ; though it was known beforehand, that he wou'd never consent to it. - And in the mean time, the Viscount of *Turenne* coming to wait on the Queen at *Fontenay*, whither she was retir'd, the Conference was resum'd for the last time.

For, after they had amplifi'd their Forces on either side, and both had set forth the advantages of their own party, which cou'd not be done without some sharpness, and even menaces ; the Queen losing patience, and taking up that air of haughtiness and Majesty, which she had often assum'd at the like Conferences in the Reigns prece-

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dent, and at the beginning of this, said in an imperious tone, that there was no more room left for deliberation; and that the King, who would be absolutely Master in his Realm, had fix'd his positive resolution, to have but one Religion in *France*: 'Tis well, Madam, repli'd the Vicount, with a disdainfull kind of smile, we joyn issue with you in the same resolution; Let there be but one Religion, provided it be ours; if otherwise, we must hack it out on both sides. On which, without staying for a reply, he made a low bow, and immediately withdrew. Thus the Conference was ended, to the extreme displeasure of the King, who to gain covert from that Tempest of the *Germans*, which he foresaw to be pourcing upon *France*, had passionately desir'd a Peace, which he could neither obtain from the King of *Navarre*, nor even from the *League*, in whose quarrel he was engag'd to make War against that King.

For the *Leaguers*, whose number was prodigiously increas'd, especially in *Paris*, grown jealous of those frequent Treaties with the king of *Navarre*,

*varre*, let loose their tongues, more brutally than ever against the King : as if he had held a secret correspondence with the *Huguenots*, and play'd booty with the *League*, by a counterfeit shew of ruining its Enemies. There are those who have gone so far as to report, that at this very time they had laid a terrible Plot against the King, in which they engag'd the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had made himself their Head, in the absence of his Brother ; and that the Conspirators had resolv'd to put all the Guards of his Majesty to the Sword ; to seize his Royal Person, and afterwards, either to confine him to a Monastery, or to imprison him in a Tower ; to cut the throats of the Chancellour, the first President, and all the Principal Officers, to put others in their places, and to create a new Council consisting wholly of their own party ; to possess themselves of the *Bastille*, the *Arsenal*, the *Chastelets*, the Palace and the Temple ; to give entrance to the *Spanish Armada*, which was then prepar'd against *England*, by *Boulogne* ; and a hundred other particularities of that Conspiracy, which

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the President *de Thou* thought fit to insert in his History, upon the credit of one *Nicholas Poulain*, Lieutenant in the Provostship of the Isle of *France*; who having been of the Council of the *League*, reveal'd, as he relates himself, the whole secret to the Chancellor *de Chiverny*, *Monsieur Villeroy*, chief Secretary of State, and also to the King. But, besides that no credit ought in reason to be given to a man of double dealing, who has betray'd both sides, and who to set himself right with that party he had forsaken, may affirm a thousand things which he cannot prove; which is a crime that hath often brought the informer to the Gallows; there is nothing of all this matter to be seen in those Papers, which were written at that time, either for or against the *League*; especially in those of the *Huguenots*, who wou'd be sure to omit nothing that cou'd possibly make against their Enemies, or for themselves, neither in the Memoires of the Chancellour *de Chiverny*, nor of *Monsieur de Villeroy*, who in all probability, wou'd not have forgotten a thing of that importance, if

if they had had it from the mouth of the Informer, or indeed if they had believ'd it true. *Ann. 1586.*

And certainly there are many things so very improbable, in that verbal process of *Nicholas Poulain*, which I have most exactly read; and even so many notorious fallities, and those so opposite to the nature and genius of the Duke of *Mayenne*, that it is a prodigious thing in *Monsieur de Thou*, that he wou'd take the pains to transcribe it almost word for word in a History, so elegant and serious as that of his. This in reason shou'd give a caution to such as undertake the writing of a History, not to trust all sorts of Writers, and not ambitiously to swell their Works with all they find written in certain Unauthentic Memoires, without giving themselves the leisure to examine their merit, and their quality. That which is certain in that affair is, that the *Leaguers of Paris* interpreting maliciously, and in the worst sense, those Negotiations and Conferences, which were made with the King of *Navarre*, were not wanting to make the people



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ple understand, that the King held intelligence with him, and protected the *Huguenots*. It was also in order to destroy that belief and false opinion which ran of him to his disadvantage among the people, that the King renew'd with more apparent fervour and solemnity, those extraordinary devotions which he practis'd from time to time, and above all his Processions of Penitents, which, far from serving his design, render'd him yet more despicably odious.

As evil, by the abuse of the best and most holy things, often proceeds from that good which insensibly is degenerated into corruption; it sometimes also happens that good is produc'd out of evil, which is rectifi'd, by taking from it that which is ill in the practice of Devotion, and leaving onely what is wholesome. This is what has been observ'd in our present Subject, the Brotherhood of Penitentiaries. More than four hundred years agoe, a certain devout Hermit finding himself to be strongly inspir'd from God, to Preach in a Town of *Italy*, as *Jonas* did at *Nineveh*, began to threaten

threaten the Inhabitants, that in a short time they shou'd be buried under the Ruines of their Houses, which shou'd fall upon their heads and overwhelm them, if they appeas'd not the wrath of God, by an immediate, severe and publique penitence. His Auditours after the example of the *Ninevites*, touch'd with so powerfull a Sermon, and fearing to feel the effects of so terrible a threatning, cloath'd themselves in Sackcloth, and arm'd with Whips and Disciplines, walk'd in procession through their Streets, lashing themselves severely on their Shoulders, to expiate their Crimes by their tears, and by their Blood. This sort of Penance which sprung out of a good principle, and an ardent desire of appeasing the Divine Justice, may be very laudable; and was afterwards practis'd in other Countries, particularly in *Hungary*, during the rage of a great Pestilence, which made havock of that poor Kingdom. But not long after, it degenerated into the dangerous sect of the *Flagellants*, who running in great Troops naked to the middle, through most

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most of the Provinces of *Europe*, made themselves all over bloudy, by the vigorous handselling of their Disciplines, saying, with horrible impiety, that this new Baptism of blood was more available than that of Water, in that it expiated for all their future Sins, which from thence forward they might commit with all impunity.

There was much difficulty in abolishing so pernicious an abuse; and therefore with mild usage to reduce those wandring Souls into a regular Penance, it was permitted them to retain what ever was good, in so austere a Practice. From thence are sprung up the fraternities of Penitents, which are at this present seen in *Italy*, in the Patrimony of the Church, in the County of *Avignon*, and in *Languedoc*, who have their Chapels where they assemble, and practise the Exercises of their Devotions, and who make their Processions where they go, particularly on Holy Thursday, cloath'd in Sackcloth, with Whips at their Girdles, which nevertheless are not for any great execution, but for Ceremony, to mark out the publique

lique profession which they make of being Penitentiaries, and the love they have for Christian Penance.

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When therefore the King, who was naturally inclin'd to Devotion, had in his return from *Poland*, beheld the Procession of the white Penitents of *Avignon*, and was even then desirous of shewing himself a zealous *Catholique*; he commanded himself to be in-roll'd in that Fraternity, and about seven or eight years after, he establish'd another of the same kind at *Paris*, in the Church of the *Augustines*, under the title of the Annunciation of our Lady. The most part of the Princes, and great men of the Court, and the principal Officers were of it; and all his Favorites never fail'd to assist at those Processions, wherein he went without his Guards, or any mark whereby he might be distinguish'd from the rest, Cloath'd in a long white Habit of Holland, shap'd like a Sack, reaching below his Feet, somewhat large, with two long Sleeves, and a Cowl or *Monk's Hood* over his Head piqu'd on the Crown, and having two great holes in it right against his

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his Eyes, sow'd behind to the Collar, and coming down before in a sharp point, half a foot below the Girdle, which was woven of the finest white Thread, and little knots in it, hanging down below the Knee; in the Girdle was hung a jolly little Discipline of the same materials, nothing proper to give the penitent a smarting lash: On his left shoulder he had a Cross of white Satten, upon a ground of tawny Velvet, almost wholly circular.

For the rest, he made profession to observe exactly the Rules and Statutes of that Fraternity, which Father *Edmond Auger* a famous *Jesuite*, who was then his Confessour and Chaplain, had drawn up by his own Order. That good Father entertain'd him with great care, in these sorts of Devotions, though not altogether so proper for the practice of a great King, to whom much more solid instructions shou'd be given, of which the principal consists in advising him to apply himself vigorously to that charge of Government, which God, to whom he must render an Account, has committed to his trust,

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trust, as his Minister and Lieutenant.

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To this purpose 'tis said (as *Busbequius* writes from *Paris*, to the Emperour *Rodolphus* his Master) that the Queen Mother (seeing the prejudice which this fantastique carriage did to the reputation of the King her Son, and to the State, the care of which he abandon'd, to give himself up to these cloysterly Processions,) spoke sharply to the *Jesuite*, upbrayding him, that he was an ill Guide to his Penitent, and that of a King, as God had made him, he made a Frier, to the great prejudice of all his Kingdom. And for that very reason, time and experience having made it manifest, that much disorder had crept into these Fraternities of white Penitents, as well as those of the blew and black, and that under pretence of practising holy Exercises, most dangerous Plots were hatch'd against the Government, they were totally abolish'd at *Paris*, about ten or twelve years afterwards.

It was especially that year 1586, that the King willing to make appear, that

*Ann. 1586.* that he had more zeal than ever for the *Catholique* Faith, renew'd these ostentatious Devotions of his Fraternity, with so much fervour, that not being satisfied with his ordinary Processions, which he made in the Habit of a Penitent, through the Streets of *Paris*, he made one very extraordinary, going on foot in the same Habit, with the greatest company he cou'd get together of his most devout and fervent Brothers, from the *Chartreux*, quite to our Lady of *Chartres*; from whence he return'd in the same manner, in two days to *Paris*. In truth, 'tis credible that this proceeded from a great Foundation of Piety in this Prince, whose nature was infinitely sweet, if he had not suffer'd it to be corrupted by his pleasures. But as the *Leaguers* were not thoroughly perswaded of this truth, and that through the hatred which they bore him, they interpreted his best actions in the worst Sense, they decr'd this with all imaginable spight; saying, it was nothing but mere Hypocrisie, and a ridiculous Mascarade which he had invented, to mock God and deceive men, by covering

covering his Vices and his no Religion with the veil of Piety.

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Yet the *Leaguers* were not the only men, who were scandaliz'd at these new forms of Processions, which are not much to the humour of the *French*. They were almost generally blam'd by all the World, and those who spoke the least harm of them, cou'd not hold from open Laughter. The most ridiculous part of them, and which made a kind of Tragicomedy, wherein there was matter of Mirth and Mourning, was that the Lacquies of these Courtiers, who in compliance to the King, had inroll'd themselves in this Brotherhood of Penitents, had the insolence to mimick it, in derision of their Masters, even in the Court of the *Louvre*, making shew of lashing themselves lustily, as if they had been *Flagellants* in earnest. But the King having heard of it, before the Farce was quite play'd out, caus'd fourscore of them to be seiz'd, whom they drew into the *Cour des Cuifines*, where they were so well belabour'd with Whips, that they were left in a way representing to the Life, that conditi-



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on into which the ancient *Flagellants* put their bodies by their bloody penance.

This, notwithstanding, hinder'd not others, from doing somewhat much more criminal, than the poor Lacquies had attempted. For some malicious Wits there were amongst the *Leaguers*, who had the impudence to expose publicly, a Picture where the King was seen cloath'd in his penitential Robes, pulling the Honey-combs out of an Hive, saying these words, which were written over his Head, as the Motto of the Embleme, *Sic eorum aculeos evito*, 'Tis thus I cover my self from their Stings. As if they desir'd to be understood in this witty, but very spightfull expression, That as a man who intends to rob a Hive, must cover his Face and Hands to avoid Stinging from the Bees, who Associate themselves against the Thief: So the King, who drew the vital nourishment of his Kingdom to lavish it prodigally on his Minions, and who endeavour'd to ruine Religion, by the secret intelligence he held with the King of Navarre

*varre* and the *Huguenots*, disguis'd Ann. 1586.  
himself in this Habit of a Penitent,  
to cheat the *League*, and to shelter  
himself from the just indignation of  
the *Catholiques* united against him.  
But they who were more clamorous  
than all the rest, were certain Prea-  
chers of the *League*, who profaneing  
their Sacred Function of Preaching  
the Gospel, by their Seditious Tongues,  
and dealing out a thousand impostures  
from the Chair of Truth, declaim'd  
venemously against the Lord's An-  
ointed, all whose actions they be-  
spatter'd, even those which were a-  
dorn'd with the greatest Piety.

Of all those Satyrists, he who  
roar'd the most insolently against those  
Devotions of the King, was Doctour  
*Poncet*, Curate of *St. Peter des Arsis*,  
who was accusom'd to relate blunder-  
ingly in his Sermons, the silliest  
things, which the most violent *Lea-*  
*guers* us'd to say, and preach'd them  
without fear or wit to his Congrega-  
tion, as if they had been as true as  
Gospel. 'Twas not that he wanted  
good natural parts, as once he made  
it sufficiently appear, when the Duke

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of *Joyeuse*, the King's Favourite, having told him that he was glad to know a man, who had so noble a Talent as to divert the people, and set them on the merry pin of Laughing at his Sermons: He drily answer'd him, 'tis but reasonable that I shou'd make them laugh sometimes, since you have made them cry so often, for the extraordinary Subsidies which were impos'd for the defraying of the excessive charges of your sweet Marriage. For the report went, that the King had expended on them more than twelve hundred thousand Crowns.

Now this Seditious Preacher de-claim'd so outrageously against those Processions, and told so many scandalous lies of the King himself, and the fraternity of Penitents, whom he call'd the Brotherhood of Hypocrites and Atheists, that the King clap'd him up in Prison for some days, after which he set him at liberty, thinking that this light Correction wou'd teach him better manners. But it was to little purpose; for the Fellow having heard it reported, that he had charg'd his note, after having smarted

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smarted for it, had the impudence to say publicly in the Pulpit, that he was no Parrot to be taught his Lesson; and thereupon, he fell to his old trade of railing more violently than ever. Yet it was not long e'er he inflicted on himself the punishment which he had so well deserv'd.

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As the Licence of speaking evil of the Higher Powers, was now become the common practice of the *Leaguers*, a certain Advocate of *Poitiers* call'd *Le Breton*, who had lost his Suit at *Poitiers* and at *Paris*, in pleading for a Widow, enrag'd that the Duke of *Guise* and *Mayenne*, the King of *Navarre*, and the King himself to whom he had made his address'es, going from one to the other, and making so many fruitless Journies to complain of his hard Usage, had always shaken him off, and treated him like a Fool or Madman, made a Libell full of Villanous reproaches and calumnies against the King, and the Members of the Parliament. The Writing having been seiz'd together with the Authour, it was thought fit to make an example of him, to stop the fury of that licken-

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tious way of Writing and of Speaking. Upon which, short work was made in the process of this audacious Advocate, he had Justice roundly done him, and was fairly hang'd before the Steps of the Palace. None are so wretchedly fearfull and cowardly at the point of danger, as those who are the most fool-hardy in railing, when they believe they are out of reach: When our noble Doctour *Poncet* was told of this Execution on the Lawyer, and that he saw by this terrible example, they were punish'd with death who dar'd to affront the Sovereign Majesty with Scandalous and Seditious Invectives, he was taken so violently with a sudden fright and apprehension, that it seiz'd on his Heart, and stop'd the circulation of his Bloud; he betook himself immediately to his Bed, from whence this tongue Bravo did never rise, for he died some few days after of pure imagination, that the same distributive Justice wou'd reach him, which had overtaken the miserable Advocate.

In the mean time, the King who had always earnestly desir'd to have peace  
in

in his Kingdom, made another attempt, though without Success, to oblige on one side the Duke of *Guise*, to accommodate matters with the King of *Navarre*, on Conditions more advantageous than he had yet offer'd him: and on the other side, to cause the King of *Navarre* to return into the *Catholique* Church, promising him in case he wou'd, to declare him Lieutenant General in all the Realm, to impower him yet with more Authority, than he himself had possess'd when he Commanded the Armies of the late King his Brother, to make him President of the Council, and even at last, ( which that King most passionately desir'd,) to Dissolve his Marriage with Queen *Margaret*, and to give him the Princess of *Lorrain*, Grand-Daughter to the Queen Mother, who was willing to consent to this Marriage, which might one day make that Princess Queen of *France*, whom she always lov'd with so much tenderness.

These undoubtedly were most advantageous offers, and very capable of tempting a man of that King's Chara-

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After; who to say the truth, was none of the most bigotted *Huguenots*, nor any bitter Enemy to the *Catholiques*. But as he cou'd not believe after what had been done against him, that he had reason to rely on these fair promises, that he fear'd to fall to the Ground betwixt two Stools; nay, if once he was perceiv'd to Waver, to be soon abandon'd by his party, which already lean'd extremely towards the Prince of *Condè*, who was Known to be a much better Protestant than himself, and moreover, that he thought himself secure of great Succours from the *Germans*, he wou'd not lend an Ear to any of those Proposals, and gave a quick dispatch to the King's Envoys, with an answer worthy of his ingenuity and of his Courage; That his Enemies desir'd nothing less than his Conversion, because they took Arms for no other reason, than to Exclude him from the Succession of the Crown; and to cantonize the Realm amongst themselves, under pretence of preserving the *Catholique* Religion, which he wou'd maintain in it, much better than themselves; That  
he

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he most humbly besought his Majesty, to permit him to decide that Quarrel with the Princes of the *League*, without his Majesty's giving himself the trouble to interpose in it; and in three Months time he shou'd have Fifty thousand Men, with which he hop'd Almighty God wou'd do him the favour, to reduce the *Leaguers* in a short time to their Duty, and to bring those Troublers of the publick Peace, and those Rebels, to the terms of Obedience which they ow'd their Sovereign.

This answer put the King into an extreme Agony of Spirit, not knowing where to fix his Resolutions, nor which of the three Parties he shou'd Espouse. For, in case he shou'd stand Neuter betwixt the King of *Navarre* and the *League*, he ran the risque of being at the disposal of the Conquerour; if he rang'd himself with the King of *Navarre's* Party against the *League*, (as some time after he was constrain'd to do,) he fear'd to pass for an Heretique, or for a favourer of Heretiques, as the *League* endeavour'd already to make it be believ'd by



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by their Calumnies against him; and in the sequel, to draw upon himself the power of *Spain*, and all the Thunderbolts of *Rome*, which in that conjuncture he dreaded more than the *League* and the *Spaniard* put together. Thus as he believ'd not himself to be singly strong enough, to force both parties to Obedience, that latter fear determin'd him though contrary to his Inclinations against the King of *Navarre's* Party, as judging it to be the juster, excepting onely their Religion, which that Prince had solemnly protested, was no ingredient of the present Quarrel. Insomuch that following the advice of the Queen his Mother, and some few of his Council, who out of their hatred to Heresie, were favourable to the *League*; he joyn'd himself with those whom he regarded as his greatest Enemies, to make War with his Brother-in-Law, whose good intentions he well knew for the publique wellfare. A War which drew from both parties both much Bloud, and many Tears: the various events of which will be the Subject of the following Book.

Ann. 1587.

T H E

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
LEAGUE.

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L I B. II.

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**T**HE King, according to his *Ann. 1587.*  
 Custome, pass'd the Winter  
 of this Memorable Year 1587,  
 partly in Feasts, Gaming, Ballets  
 and Masquerades, and such other di-  
 vertisements; and partly in his Pro-  
 ceSSIONS, his Fraternities, his Retire-  
 ments and his Penances, among the  
*Feuillants*, whom he had founded at  
 the *Fauxbourg St. Honore*, among the  
*Capuchins*, and especially in his little  
 Cells

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Cells of the Monastery of *Bois de Vincennes*, wherein he had plac'd the *Jeronimites* who were come from *Spain*, and wherein afterwards were plac'd the *Minimes*. But to his great grief, at the beginning of the Spring, he was forc'd to quit the Pleasures and Exercises of that sort of Life, with which he was infinitely satisfied, and rowze up himself to make War in conjunction with the *League* against the King of *Navarre*, and the *Germans*, who were coming to joyn their Forces with him.

To this effect, the Duke of *Guise*, who till that time had been making War with the young Duke of *Bouillon la Mark*, without any considerable advantage, return'd to the Court, which was then at *Meaux*; and after having assur'd the King that there was a great Army of *Germans* in readiness to take their March towards our Frontiers, and demanded Forces which might be capable of stopping them, he made great complaints of the Breach which he pretended to be made of some Articles, in the Treaty of *Nemours*. Those of the *League* maintain'd that these

these complaints were just, the others on the contrary made it evident, that they were altogether unreasonable.

He complain'd amongst other things, that the Count of *Brissac* was not restor'd to his Government of the Castle of *Angers*. But to that it was answer'd, that the King had retaken it from the King of *Navarre's* Forces, by whom *Brissac*, who held it for the *League* against his Majesty's intentions, had suffer'd it to be surpris'd. He added that such as were his Dependants, and in his interests, were not treated so favourably at Court as others; as if the King had been oblig'd not onely to forgive, but also to bestow particular favours on those who had taken Arms against him, and to reward them for having discharg'd their Cannon against his faithfull Servants, as *Francis de Balsac d' Entragues* had done against the Duke of *Montpensier* whom his Majesty had sent to *Orleans*. In conclusion, he took it exceedingly ill, that the temp'oral Estate of Cardinal *Pellevè*, Archbishop of *Sens* had been seiz'd into the King's hands; as if the World were not satisfi'd that this

Ann. 1587.

*Ann. 1587.* this Prelate, a Pensioner of *Spain*, and who was a declar'd Enemy to the King, was not then at *Rome*, doeing him all manner of ill Offices with the *Pope*, eternally decrying his conduct, and blasting him with his sinister interpretations, and venomous aspersions.

Nevertheless, the King had the goodness not long time after, to grant him Possession of his Revenues, and that to gratifie His Holiness, who had desir'd it of him by his Nuncio *Morosini*, but at the same time he desir'd the *Pope* to admonish the Cardinal in private, that he shou'd beware of relapsing into so hainous an Offence, which if he shou'd, he then hop'd his Holiness wou'd hold himself oblig'd to punish him with the same Severity, as if the crime were committed against his own person. For the present, he was content to mollify the Duke of *Guise* with a parcel of fair words, assuring him that he wou'd take such order, that he shou'd have reason to be satisfi'd in all things. After which, having again exhorted him to make Peace with the King of *Navarre*, and  
finding

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finding him still obstinate in the Negative, he took at last the resolution, to dispose of the Forces he had already on foot, and of those he expected from the *Catholique* Cantons of *Switzerland*, in such manner that he might find a way to make himself Master of all, by weakning the King of *Navarre* and the *League*, and by dispersing the *German* Army.

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To this effect, he determin'd to have three Armies; The first very strong, under the Command of the Duke of *Joyeuse* in *Poitou*, against the King of *Navarre*, who was not yet in a condition, as he believ'd, to oppose him. The second in shew, and upon the paper, at least as strong, but in reality much weaker, under the Duke of *Guise* against the *Germans*, by whom considering their great Numbers, he might reasonably hope the Duke might be oppress'd, which he had occasion enough to wish: And the third, incomparably stronger than the other two, he was resolv'd to command in person, to hinder the Strangers, who by that time wou'd be harass'd with so long a March, from passing the River

*Ann. 1589.*

ver of *Loire*, and from joyning the King of *Navarre*, and afterwards to oblige them by Treaty to return into their own Country ; After which he shou'd be in condition, easily to reduce the two Parties to the obedience which they ow'd him.

Undoubtedly this design was not ill laid ; but by the prudent Conduct and Valour of the King of *Navarre* on the one side, and on the other of the Duke of *Guise*, this specious project happen'd quite after another manner, than he had imagin'd. And this is my present Business to discover, by describing exactly and in order, the Exploits of these three Armies, which had all of them such different Success.

The first of them who was oblig'd to take the Field, was the Duke of *Joyeuse*, to oppose the Progress which the King of *Navarre* began to make in *Guyenne* and in *Poitou*. This Duke was that famous Favourite, whom the King, to comfort himself for the loss of his other Minions *Quelus* and *Maugiron*, who were kill'd in Duel, and *St. Megrin* who was Murther'd as he went out of the *Lowre*, took pleasure to raise

raise to the highest Honours of the Realm, so far as even to make him his own Brother-in-Law by Marrying him to *Margaret* Princess of *Vaudemont*, Sister to the Queen, and loading him with Wealth and Favours, which he lavish'd upon him with a full hand, without Rule or Measure; Insomuch that he seem'd as if he wou'd share the Kingdom with him, and make him equal to himself: which things are not compatible with the Dignity, nor consequently with the Friendship of a King, as they are with that of a private person.

'Tis true, that amongst all that Crowd of Favourites and Minions, who made themselves insupportable under this Reign, especially to the Princes and the Nobility, by the insolence of their Carriage, and abusing the favour of their Prince, this man was the least hated of the whole Number: for, besides that he was of a Birth much more illustrious than any of the rest, he was also without comparison the most well-Natur'd, being Courteous, Obliging, Civil, pleas'd with doing good Offices, and above all

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things Magnificent, even beyond what can be express'd, as if he had endeavour'd to equalize the greatness of his Fortune, by that of his Bounty, which in a manner bore proportion with the prodigality of the King his Master: Infomuch that one day finding at his Chamber-door the four Secretaries of State, who had waited long for his coming out, after having excus'd himself to them with all manner of civility, he presented them with an hundred thousand Crowns, which just before he had receiv'd from the liberality of the King.

But, as with all these good Qualities, he was extremely vain, opinionated of his own capacity for all things, though as yet he had gain'd no manner of experience; the Duke of *Espernon* his Rival, who endeavour'd to make his advantage of the other's absence from Court, and to get the upper hand in the King's favour, infus'd into him with great artifice the desire of Commanding that Army, which was to be sent into *Guyenne* against the King of *Navarre*. In effect he sued for it, and fail'd not to obtain it of the King,

King, who was not able to refuse him, Ann. 1587.  
 though he had promis'd it before to  
 Marthal d' Aumont, who being endu-  
 ed with Conduct, Valour, Experience  
 and Fidelity, had certainly acquitted  
 himself much better of that employ-  
 ment.

At first he had indifferent good Suc-  
 cess, in *Auvergne*, in *Giraudan*, and  
 in *Rouergue*, which he had order to  
 cleanse of the *Huguenots*; from thence  
 to pass into *Languedoc*, and afterwards  
 into *Guyenne*. He took some little  
 Places which were tolerably strong;  
 amongst others *Maleziou*, *Marengbol*,  
*La Peyre* in *Giraudan*, and *Salvagnac*  
 in *Rouergue*; from whence he March'd,  
 and presented himself in *Battaglia*, be-  
 fore *Tholouse*, intending thereby to  
 give notice to the Parliament, that he  
 was come to joyn himself with the  
 Marthal of *Joyeuse*, his Father, & Lieu-  
 tenant of the King in *Languedoc*, to de-  
 liver that great Town, from the trou-  
 blefome neighbourhood of the *Hugue-  
 nots*. After which, his Army being  
 much diminish'd by Sicknes, and by  
 the retiring of many Gentlemen to  
 their own Houses, he left there the

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*Marquis of Lavardin, John de Beaumanoir*, his Marshal de Camp, and return'd in Post to the Court, there to pass the Winter.

The year following he had almost the same Fortune; for as he had been inform'd, that the King of *Navarre* who had taken the Field about the beginning of *April*, had already made himself Master in *Poitou* of *Talmont*, *Chizay*, *Sasay*, *St. Maixant*, *Fontenay* and *Mauleon*, he return'd to the Army with great speed, bringing with him a recruit of six or seven thousand Men, with whom he recover'd *St. Maixant*, possess'd himself of *Tonnay-Charente*, and of *Mallezays*, made incursions even to the Gates of *Rochelle*, and cut in pieces two or three Regiments of the King of *Navarre*, whom he forc'd in their Quarters: But, after two Months of Campaigne, the Plague and the Deserters, who were many, having extremely weakn'd his Army, he the second time return'd to Court, leaving his Army as before, under the Command of the *Marquis of Lavardin*, who had not the

the good fortune to preserve it, so well as he had done the year before.

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For the King of *Navarre*, who was March'd out of *Rochelle*, with all the Forces he cou'd make, to distress the Army of *Lavardin*, having heard that he was making his Retreat towards the River of *Loire*, follow'd him so close, that on the twenty eighth, and the twenty ninth of *April* he surpris'd him, and cut in pieces one half of his Cavalry, and even the Duke's Gens-darms, consisting of threescore and ten Horsemen, were all kill'd or taken, together with his own Standard. All that the Marquis of *Lavardin* cou'd doe, after this defeat, was to retire at full speed to *La Hay* upon the *Creuse*.

It was before this place, which was not assaulted for want of Cannon, that the King of *Navarre* receiv'd a Reinforcement of six hundred Horse, and two thousand Arquebusiers, which the Vicount de *Turenne* brought him from *Perigord* and *Limousin*; and almost at the same time, the Prince of *Condè* came to joyn him with the greatest part of the Gentry from *Saintonge*.

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And it being then reported, that the young Count of *Soissons*, (whom he had drawn into his party by large promises, as well as the Prince of *Conti* that Count's Brother,) was approaching to the *Loire* with three hundred Gentlemen, and five hundred Dragoons, he advanc'd as far as *Monfereau* upon that River, whither the Viscount of *Turenne*, who went to receive him at *Lude*, with a convoy of seven hundred Horse, brought him without the loss of one single man.

This being done, it was resolv'd in their Council to pass no farther in the direct way towards the *Germans* whom they were to meet; because they were not yet strong enough, and that they shou'd have upon their hands both the King's Army, and that of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who wou'd certainly beat them, which by consequence wou'd prove the defeat of the Foreign Army. For which reason they return'd into *Poitou* with design to fetch a large compass, and to gain the passage of the River more upward toward *Roan*, and afterwards to march into *Bourgogne*, there to receive the German Army,

to

to whose principal Commanders the King of *Navarre* dispatch'd away *Morlas*, to desire them that they wou'd take that way. But that King had not the leisure to execute his intended Enterprife, because he was follow'd so hastily by the Duke of *Joyeuse*, that there was a necessity of coming to a Battel, which was given in the manner that I am now going to relate.

The news being already spread at Court of the late successes of the King of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Joyeuse*, to whom the King had given a very considerable recruit of Souldiers, and who was accompanied by all the young Gallants and sprightly Noblemen of the Court, who according to custome attend the Favourite, receiv'd orders to repair immediately to the Troups he had left with the Marquis of *Lavardin*, to follow the *Navarrois*, which way soever he bent, and to hinder his conjunction with the *Germans*. In order to this he came to *Tours*, where having understood, that the King of *Navarre* being gone from *Monforeau*, was upon his retreat in *Poitou*, and

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hasting into *Guyenne*, he pursued his Army with so much speed, that he got before it at *Saintonge*, insomuch, that having pass'd the River of *Charente*, at *Chasteauneuf*, coasting always on the left hand, he came by the way of *Barbesieux* to *Chalais*, very near the River *Drogne*, the same day, being the Eighteenth of *October*, that the King of *Navarre*, who had taken more on the right hand, by *Taillebourg*, quarter'd at *Monlieu*, somewhat farther off on this side the River, having receiv'd some small recruits, and Cannon, which he had from *Rochelle*.

At some little distance from that place, the small River of *Drogne* casts it self into that of *Lisle*, which is somewhat the larger of the two: The latter has its source in *Limosin*, near *St. Irier*, and the former in *Perigord* near *Brantome*; and after having been mix'd for three or four *Leagues*, they disembogue themselves into the *Dordogne*, over against *Libourne*. A little below the place where these two Rivers meet, is situate the *Bourg* of *Guitre*, and somewhat above it that of *Contras*, with a reasonable strong Castle upon the

the *Drogne* betwixt the two Rivers. *Ann. 1587.*  
Now the King of *Navarre* being of necessity to pass them, that he might follow his intended way to *Guyenne*, the Marshal of *Matignon*, Governour of that Province, one of the most faithfull, most valiant and most prudent Captains which *France* has ever had, and who had orders from the King to assist *Monsieur de Joyeuse*, writ him word, that he advis'd him to possess himself speedily of those two *Bourgs*, and there to intrench, assuring him that he wou'd not fail to be at *Libourne*, by the 22d day, with all the Forces he could draw together from *Gascogne*, *Quercy*, *Perigord* and *Limosin*. 'Twas prudently consider'd by him; for there was nothing more wholsome than this counsel, because in following it, the King of *Navarre* had easily been stopp'd; without daring to attempt the passage either above the conflux of those two Rivers or below it; or in case he had attempted it, he had been shut up betwixt two Armies, each of which cou'd not be engag'd with more than half of his, when the other half had pass'd the River of *Lisle*. But



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But the foresight, the celerity and the resolution of the King of *Navarre* on the one part, and on the other the rashness, the presumption and the vanity of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, broke those just measures which the Marshal of *Matignon* had taken. For the next morning, *Lavardin*, Marshal de Camp to *Joyeuse*, who had advanc'd the night before with 120 light Horse to possess himself of *Coutras*, found that *La Trimouille* had prevented him an hour before, and seiz'd that Post, with greater numbers than he had with him. Insomuch that he was forc'd to return to the Duke, who was gone to pass the *Drogne* somewhat higher at *Roche Chalais*; where he lodg'd himself while the King of *Navarre* who had follow'd *Trimouille* very close, pass'd over his Army at the Ford of *Coutras*. Thus these two Armies were inclos'd at the same time betwixt the two Rivers, at the distance of two short Leagues from one another, without any thing betwixt them, that was capable of hindring them to ingage, in case they were so resolv'd.

'Tis

'Tis true, that both parties had strong reasons to avoid the Battel; for the King of *Navarre*, if he shou'd lose it, was irrecoverably ruin'd, because he shou'd be left without any possibility of recruiting, at the mercy of two powerfull Armies, in pursuit of him; and if he gain'd it, his affairs wou'd not be in a much better posture than they were already: because he had yet upon his hands the Marshal of *Matignon*, a General of much better conduct than *Joyeuse*; and the King had three other Armies on foot, which might unite themselves to get betwixt him and the *Germans*, and to hinder his conjunction with them.

As for the Duke of *Joyeuse*, he ought to have consider'd, that he had to doe with old Souldiers, more experienc'd, and better disciplin'd than his own; which consisted for the most part of new rais'd men; that the young Gallants who accompanied him were indeed men of Courage, but who had gain'd no more experience than himself: considering which, if he had acted prudently, he shou'd have stay'd for the Marshal of *Matignon*, who in four days

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time at the farthest, wou'd have been at *Libourne*, from whence he might easily have joyn'd him. And if the King of *Navarre* had endeavour'd to have hinder'd it, he had been inclos'd betwixt the two Armies, one of which had charg'd him in the front, and the other in the Rere: For thus in all reasonable probability it must have happen'd. But the Duke was so blinded with his eagerness of fighting, (as being infinitely desirous to redeem his reputation at Court, and to regain the advantage, which his Rival had got over him in the King's favour, by an eminent victory which his vanity had assur'd him was indubitable) that his opinion of success hurried him beyond those weighty reasons, the rules of War, and even those of common sense.

In pursuance of this, he first of all others having resolv'd upon the Bat-tel, and giving onely this for his reason, that the Enemy, whom he held inclos'd betwixt two Rivers, cou'd not possibly escape, in case they march'd directly to him before he had time to get away, all the young Nobles who  
fur-

surrounded him, gave such loud applause of his opinion, crying out, Battel, Battel, that they drew the rest into the same resolution; no man being able, or daring to resist the torrent. And there was so much of presumption in this Council, which was so hastily concluded, that the Duke, as if he were assur'd of victory, fearing nothing but that the Enemy shou'd escape his hands, before he cou'd come up to him, began, even before midnight to march his Army towards *Contras*, that he might attack the King of *Navarre* at break of Day. But that Prince being inform'd of his intentions by his Scouts, and foreseeing that he shou'd be constrain'd to come to a Battel, unless he wou'd incur the manifest danger of being beaten, if he shou'd make his retreat in the face of the Enemy, was resolv'd, for that reason, to march towards him, and spare him the pains of half his way.

In effect, having heard the account of a rough Skirmish, which happen'd in the Night betwixt the Scouts and the Light Horse of the two Armies,  
without

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without any considerable advantage on either side; he got on Horseback a little before Day, and advancing towards the Enemy, he went to possess himself of the Place he had design'd for the Field of Battel, which was a Plain betwixt six and seven hundred paces of Diameter, on the far side of a little Wood, about half a League distant from *Contras*, having that Town on his Back, on his left hand the *Drogne*, which bounds the Plain on that side, and on his right hand a Warren, a Copse, lopp'd the year before, a kind of little Park bending towards the Enemy, and fenc'd onely with an Hedge and Ditch. There it was that he drew up his Army in Battalia, which consisted in the whole of about four thousand five hundred Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse.

He plac'd on his right Wing, the biggest of the two Battalions of his Infantry, made up of the Regiments of *Castelnau*, *Parabere*, *Salignac*, and some other Companies, who extended themselves in the Warren, advancing even to the Hedge and Ditch which fenc'd

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fenc'd the little Park that cover'd them. These were sustain'd on their left by the Squadron of Light Horse, which had at their Head *La Trimouille*, *Vivans*, *Arambure* and *Vignoles*, who Commanded them; and before them an hundred and twenty *Arquebusers* for their Forlorn Hope. There follow'd them sloping always to the left, the whole Gendarmery divided into six Squadrons: the first, consisting at most of two hundred Gentlemen, almost all *Gascons*, Commanded by the Vicount of *Turenne*, accompanied by *Pardaillan*, *Fontrailles* and *Choupes*.

There came after them at the distance of sixty Paces, the Squadron of the Prince of *Condé*, who had with him *Louis de Saint Gelais*, *Marshal de Camp*, *des Aqueaux*, *Montaterre*, the Vicount of *Gourdon*, the Vidame of *Chartres*, and more than two hundred and fifty Men at Arms. There was an Interval of an hundred and fifty Paces, betwixt the Prince and the King of *Navarre*, who Rode at the Head of his Squadron of three hundred Gentlemen, amongst whom were the Lords  
de la

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*de la Force, de Ponts, de la Boulaye,* and *de Foix Candale* who bore the Standard. At last follow'd the young Count of *Soissons*, having after him the famous Captain *Favas*, and two hundred Horse in his Squadron, distant from the King two hundred Paces, and sustain'd, on his left, along the River side, by another gross Battalion, compos'd of the very flower of the Regiments, which were Commanded by *Charbonniere*, the young *Montgomery, de Préaux, de la Borie* and *de Neuvy*.

All these Squadrons made up a large Front, and were of little Depth, that they might take up the more in Breadth. And the King of *Navarre*, as he had formerly seen it practis'd by the Admiral of *Coligny*, had cast into their Intervals, on both sides of his Horse, small Parties of Dragoons, by fifteen and twenty in a Company, who some of them with one Knee on the Ground, some of them half Stooping, and some of them standing upright, that they might not mischieve one another, shou'd discharge upon the Enemy at fifteen foot distance, for certainty o  
Execution.

Execution. And his Artillery, which <sup>Ann. 1587.</sup> the Night before he had left beyond the River, that he might pass it more speedily to gain *Contras*, being come up to him, just in the nick, under the Convoy of *George Clermont d' Amboise*, Master of the Ordnance, was advantageously plac'd on a small ascent, at the right hand of the Count of *Soissons*. Thus was this Army rang'd in form of a Crescent, whose two Battalions of Infantry, more advanc'd than the Squadrons towards the Enemy, made the two Horns, and betwixt both of them the Squadrons of the Prince of *Condè*, and the Vicount of *Turenne* form'd the hollow of the middle part.

In the mean time the Duke of *Joyeuse*, having pass'd through certain narrow and troublesome ways, which lay betwixt his last Nights Lodging and the Plain, and that with difficulty enough, which was caus'd by the disorderly March of his young Gallants, whose eagerness was not to be commanded; the Marquis of *Lavardin* his Marshal *de Camp* a great Souldier, on whom chiefly he rely'd, drew up

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his Army into Battalia, as well as the disorder wou'd give him leave; his whole Forces, at that time, not amounting to more than nine thousand men, and those ill Disciplin'd. Over against that gross Battalion which inclos'd the right Wing of the Enemy, he plac'd on his left Wing the Regiments of *Picardy* and *Tiercelin*, which form'd a Battalion of eight hundred Musquetiers, cover'd with about a thousand Corslets. These had on their right hand the Light Horsemen and the *Albanois*, Commanded by their Captain *Mercurius Buat*, and another Squadron of four hundred Lances, whom *Lavardin* himself chose to Lead in the room of *Monsieur de Sourvè*, who lay dangerously hurt of a fall. *Montigny* who Commanded another of five hundred Lances, was plac'd on the same hand, in opposition to the Vicount of *Turenne*; after which, bending still towards the River which they had on their right Hand, there was extended on both sides the way right over against the three Princes, a gross of twelve hundred Lances, wherein was the Person of the General, and the Standard,

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Standard, born by the *Sieur de Maillay* Ann. 1587.  
*Bressay.*

The whole body of the young Gallants who were Voluntiers, with the greatest part of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, were in this gros, the first Rank of which was compos'd onely of Counts, Marqueſſes and Barons, having at their Head the Duke of *Joyeuse*, accompanied by his younger Brother the Marquis of Saint *Sauveur*, and the brave *St. Luc*; and to close the Right Wing, there was plac'd betwixt the Standard and the *Drogne* another gros Battalion, made up of the Regiments of *des Cluseaux*, and *de Verduisant*, sustain'd by seven Cornets of Dragoons, which might make in all a gros of near three thousand men. The Artillery which like the King of *Navarre's* consisted onely of a few Field-Pieces, was planted advancing a little towards the right hand, betwixt the gros Squadron of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, and that of *Montigny*.

The two Armies, which continu'd in presence of each other for the space of almost an hour, without moving, made two very differing Prospects.

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For

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For on the one side, there was nothing to be seen but gilded Armour, gloriously damask'd, glittering in the Sun; painted Lances cover'd over with Ribands, with their Banderolles dancing in the Air, rich Coats of Velvet, with broad Lace and Galoon of Gold and Silver, wherewith every Troup was Habited, according to the Colours of his Captain; large and beautifull colour'd Plumes, waving on their Crests, and shadowing them in large Bunches; Scarfes magnificently embroider'd, and edg'd with long Gold Fringe, and all these young Cavaliers carrying the Cyphers and Colours of their Mistresses, as proudly adorn'd as if they were Marching in a Carrousel, and not upon the point of giving Battail. To conclude, we may say it was an Army equipp'd after the *Persian* mode, where so much luxury and pomp was seen, and so much Gold and Silk, in the Habits of the Men and the Caparisons of the Horses.

But the contrary side afforded no such Spectacle; old Souldiers inur'd to toil and labour, whose meens were fierce and menacing; uncomb'd, ill cloath'd,

cloath'd, with their long Buff-Coats all bespawl'd, over their coarse threadbare Clothes, having no other Ornament than trusty Bilbo by their sides, and sound Armour on their Breasts, Mounted on travelling Horses, without Housles, or any other part of bravery besides the Horsemen on their backs; in fine, the Army of another *Alexander*, in opposition to that of another *Darius*.

These two Armies so very different, having look'd each other in the Face, long enough to take their Measures, the King of *Navarre* somewhat before Nine of the Clock, commanded Prayers to be made, to ask the assistance of Almighty God, making loud Protestations that he was not going to fight against his King, but against the *Leaguers* who had enterpris'd the destruction of the Royal House, by depriving of his Birthright the Heir presumptive of the Crown. This example was not imitated in the Army of the Duke of *Joyeuse*: on the contrary, when they perceiv'd a kind of motion in the other Army when they were at Prayers, some who were about the

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*Duke of Joyeuse* cry'd out aloud in derision of them, they are our own, the Cowards tremble : But the *Sieur de Vaux* Lieutenant to *Monsieur de Bellegarde*, Governour of *Saintonge* told him plainly in these words ; No, no, *Monsieur*, believe it not, I know those people better, they are now at their Devotions, but you shall see them fight like Lions.

Immediately upon this, the Cannon began to play ; the first discharge which was made from the King of *Navarre's* Ordnance, took place in the very Standard of the Duke, which was an ill omen to him, and all the other Vollicies, thundring athwart the thick Forest of their Lanciers, into the gross Battalion which clos'd their left Wing, put all the Regiment of *Tiercelin* into a vast disorder, sweeping away whole ranks of them at once. On the contrary the Duke's Cannon, did little or no Execution ; for besides that it answer'd not the roaring of the other, till some time after, it kill'd but onely one Horse of the Prince of *Condé's* Squadron ; because their Guns were so unadvisedly planted, and the Can-

Cannoniers took their aim so very low, <sup>Ann. 158</sup> that the Bullets were grounded in a little rise of Earth, which intercepted their passage to the Enemy.

Then *Lavardin*, crying out to his General that all was lost, if they gave time to their Enemies to fire again, immediately sounded the Charge, and joyning to his own Squadron, those of the light Horsemen and the *Albanois*, gave in so furiously on the gross of the Enemies light Horse, that having at the first onset overturn'd *la Trimouille* and *Arambure* with his Lance, and dangerously wounded *Vivans*, their whole Squadron was broken, routed, and pursu'd into *Contras*, where the *Albanois* fell to Plundering the Baggage, which the King of *Navarre* had left behind him in that Town. At the same time *Montigny* who was directly opposite to the Viscount of *Turenne*, perceiving the Flank of his *Gascons* to lie bare, by the flight of the light Horsemen which they had on their right hand, push'd them so vigorously on that part, that he broke into them, and open'd without any trouble from one

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side to the other, that whole Squadron, which thus disorder'd, were put to the rout, as their fellows the light Horse had been before them.

There were some of them, and even of those who had the reputation of the bravest, so thoroughly seiz'd with this sudden fright, that they took the River, and flying for their Lives, as fast as they cou'd Spur, carri'd as far as *Pons* the false report of their Armies being wholly routed, for which they had afterwards so much regret, that they died for shame and sorrow of it. This flight of the light Horsemen was so precipitate and so general, that at first there were onely remaining in the Field *Turenne* and *Choupes*, with one other Gentleman, to whom *la Trimouille* and *Arambure* joyn'd themselves, who having been remounted, and seeing they were abandon'd by their Souldiers, cast themselves into the Squadron of the Prince of *Condè*, to combat by his side.

'Tis true, that the greatest part of these Runaways, immediately ralli'd, and put themselves in order behind the squadrons of the Princes, to repair their fault

fault by Fighting, as afterwards they did most Valiantly. But this cou'd not save them from the severe raillery of their own party. For as it is commonly seen, that there is a kind of jealousy, and we may almost call it enmity betwixt neighbouring Provinces, those of *Saintonge* and of *Poitou*, who had no great kindness for the *Gascons*, and who besides were somewhat picqu'd, that the King of *Navarre* was us'd to praise them a little too extravagantly, seeing them first disorder'd and then routed, cry'd out as loud as possibly they cou'd, after the example of *Monsieur de Montausier*, "At the least it cannot now be said, that these are either *Poitevins* or of *Saintonge*. This made the *Gascons* ready to burst with extremity of choler; but all the revenge they took, was to strain their Forces to the utmost as they did, by a noble emulation, to behave themselves yet better than those Valiant men.

To proceed, this first disorder was so far from drawing on a greater, as it ordinarily happens, that it onely serv'd to augment the Courage and Valour of

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of the rest. For on the one part, the foot of the left Wing, which had bravely advanc'd to push of Pike, against the Regiment *des Cluseaux*, having beheld the rout of the light Horsemen and the *Gascons*, and hearing the shouts of Victory which were already Echo'd from the Duke's Army, were not discourag'd from passing on, and discharging furiously at a very small distance; after which changing hands with their Musquets, and taking to their Swords, they cry'd out to each other with a generous despair, let us run to our death in that Battalion; they open'd their passage through the Enemies Pikes, which they either cut asunder, or struck aside, they broke in upon them, they scatter'd them, and made a terrible Execution.

On the other part, the Gentlemen and Cavaliers of the Prince's Squadron, seeing those of their Companions who fled, and their Enemies pursuing at their Heels, with shouts of Joy cast on them a fierce disdainfull look, and told one another laughing, these People have their Business yet to doe, we are they that must abate their pride. And  
it

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it fell out as they desir'd ; the Enemy <sup>Ann. 1587.</sup> came up to them : For the Duke of *Joyeuse*, swell'd with the happy success of the first Encounter, and believing he went to a Victory as good as gotten, spurs on before his Troups, making a pompous shew, his rich Armour glittering with Gold and Silver and ennamell, almost hidden under his Plumes and Ribands, and making a sign, both with his Voice and Hand, for all his Braves to follow him, the whole Squadron together take their carrier of four hundred paces, and giving the Reins to their Horses, with their Lances in the rest, run at full speed against the three Princes.

In the mean time the King of *Navarre*, who that day was onely habited like a private Souldier, in a plain gray Suit of Arms, with a Head-piece of the same, barefac'd to be known in the thickest of the throng, rode through every rank, in few words exhorted the nearest to him, and with his Gesture and his Eyes the more remote, to Fight like men of Honour, for the rights of the Royal House, and onely

to

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to behave themselves like him : After which placing before him eight Gentlemen, of such as were the surest arm'd, with strong Lances to overturn the first who made head against him, and to open his passage into the Squadron, he commanded his men to advance onely ten paces, and to expect the shock of the Enemy, ordering his Horsemen, who for the most part were Arm'd but with Sword and Pistol, not to Fire but at a very near distance, that every shot might certainly take place.

These Orders being well executed, were the gaining of the Battail; for that groſs of Horse which came up to the Charge at full Gallop, was well clear'd by the furious discharge that was made by the first Ranks of the Dragoons, which the Princes had divided amongst their Squadrons. Many of those Counts and Marquesses and young Courtiers, who had taken that Post of Honour, were beaten from their Horses; and for the rest, who had taken their carrier too far, they were out of breath, when they should have given the blow with their Lances,

Lances, their strokes were so feeble, <sup>Ann. 1587.</sup> that they had little or no effect, and the Princes broke in upon them with so much Vigour and promptitude, that they gave them not leisure to let their Lances descend, which therefore they were forc'd to throw away, and betake themselves to their Swords and Pistols. By this means they were reduc'd to an equality of Arms, but with very different success.

For the three Squadrons of the Princes being at a just distance from each other, and in excellent order, attack'd that of *Joyeuse* on three sides; The King of *Navarre* charging him in Front, the two Princes in the Flanks; the Count of *Soissons* on the right side, and the Prince of *Condè* on the left. All three of them in that bloody medley performing what cou'd possibly be expected from Valiant men; But the King of *Navarre* conspicuous above the rest, that he might animate his Souldiers, who beheld him exposing himself to danger like the meanest man amongst them, gave admirable proofs of his courage in every place. He came even to shouldering

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dring in the Pres such of the Enemies whom the ardour of combating, or the crowd of the combatants drove by chance against him; and finding himself ingag'd betwixt two Valiant men, the Baron *de Fumel*, and *Monsieur de Chasteau Renard*, who was Guidon to *Sanfaac*, who made up to him with their Swords on high, while at the same instant, a Gendarme struck on his Head-piece with the Truncheon of his Lance, he fir'd his Pistol on one of them, collard the other whom he took Prisoner, crying out to him, *yield Philistin*; and disengag'd himself from the third, who was immediately taken by one of his Esquires. In conclusion, all that great body of Gendarmery, in which consisted almost the whole strength of the Duke's Army, having been so vigourously charg'd and broke on every side, was overthrowen, cut in pieces, and intirely defeated in less than half an hour, without being able once to Rally, and that not out of Cowardise, but on the contrary, (what never or very rarely happens,) by the too great courage of the vanquish'd Party. For the greater

greater part of them being Lords of the highest Quality, and Gentlemen almost all young, full of bravery and fire; they thought so little of dispersing, or of betaking themselves to Flight, that there were not ten of them kill'd, or made Prisoners out of the Field of Battail, where they rather chose to perish, than to yield one foot of ground.

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After this defeat, the Conquerours having joyn'd their own Battalions, who encourag'd by the example, fought with almost equal advantage against the adverse Infantry, it was no longer a Combat, but a most horrible Slaughter of that miserable Foot; to whom they gave no manner of Quarter, because *Joyeuse* had given none to the two Regiments, which he had defeated near *St. Maixant*. As for that Duke, when he beheld that all was lost, instead of taking on the right hand, to save himself at *La Roche Chalais*, he turn'd upon the left, with intention to go to his Cannon, and Fighting beside it to end his days: saying to *St. Luc*, (who ask'd him what he resolv'd to doe.) To live no longer

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longer, *Monsieur de St. Luc*, but to die generously after my Misfortune. But even that last Happiness was deny'd him; for he had not made twenty or thirty Paces towards his Artillery, when he fell into the hands of two Captains, *St. Christopher*, and *la Viole*: and as he was offering them for his Ransome an hundred thousand Crowns, a Sum which those two Captains had not been very sorry to receive, there came up two others, *Bourdeaux* and *des Centiers*, who whether out of hatred or revenge, or out of spight, that they had not taken him themselves, to have shar'd so great a Ransome, basely discharg'd their Pistols on him; Shot him into the Head, and overturn'd him dead upon the place.

The Valiant *St. Luc*, who took upon the spot a resolution as generous as his, and much more daring, was also much more fortunate in the execution of it: For having perceiv'd the Prince of *Condè* at a distance, and distinguishing him from the rest, while that Prince was eagerly pursuing his Victory, he comes up to him at a round

round Gallop, and couching his Lance, <sup>Ann. 1587.</sup> overturns him to the Ground with a great stroke, which he gave him full in the middle of his Cuirasse, after which, immediately throwing himself from his Horse, he presented him his hand with extreme respect, to lift him from the Earth, and at the same time, beg'd him to receive him as his Prisoner; which the brave Prince, admiring the courage and prudence of his Enemy, perform'd, embracing him with all the generosity of which he made profession.

This Victory was complete: the Colours, the Cannon, the Baggage, remain'd in possession of the Conquerour; and with these, the Field of Battel, cover'd with betwixt four and five thousand Souldiers, and four hundred Gentlemen of the Dukes Army, who lay extended on the Plain; amongst whom, besides the Duke of Joyeuse, and his young Brother Monsieur de St. Sauveur, were the Counts de La Suze, d'Avangour, d'Aubijoux, the Sieurs de Neuvy, du Bordet, de Mailly-Bressay, de Roussay, youngest Brother of Piennes, Guidon to Joyeuse,  
Q de Vaux,



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*de Vaux*, Lieutenant to *Bellegarde*,  
*d' Alluin de Fumel*, *de Roche fort de*  
*Croissotte*, *de Tiercelin*, *Savenſe*, who was  
*Meſtre de Camp*, and the *Sieur de St.*  
*Lary-Bellegarde*, Son to the Maſhal  
of the ſame Name, and Governour of  
*Saintonge* and of *Angoumois*, who be-  
ing mortally wounded, died not long  
after of his hurts. Almoſt all the re-  
mainders of the Army were made Pri-  
ſoners, excepting onely the *Albanois*,  
who forſaking the pillage, about  
which they were buſied at *Contras*,  
preſerv'd themſelves by flight, and  
the Marquis of *Lavardin*, who not  
being able to Rally his men, who had  
purſu'd the Runnaways too far, re-  
tir'd almoſt alone to *Roche-Chalais*,  
with one Enſign which he ſav'd out  
of the Regiment of *Picardy*. This re-  
treat was very Honourable to that  
Valiant Gentleman, who having re-  
nounc'd *Calviniſm*, which his Father  
had embrac'd, combated that day a-  
gainſt the King of *Navarre*, as againſt  
the Head of the *Huguenots*; but not  
long after, caſting himſelf into his par-  
ty, for the defence of the State and the  
Rights of the Crown, he always  
fought

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fought for him against the *League*, *Ann. 1587.*  
with so much Valour, Conduct, and  
Fidelity, that at length he receiv'd in  
Recompence of his long Services, the  
Bastion of Marshal *de France*.

To conclude, this memorable Victory  
cost not the Conquerours above  
five or six Gentlemen, and what ad-  
ded to the lustre of it, was the won-  
derfull Clemency of the King of *Na-  
varre*. By his own presence he stop'd  
the fury of the Souldiers, who were  
putting all the Infantry to the Sword.  
He receiv'd all Prisoners of Quality  
with infinite Courtesie, he chear'd them  
for their loss by extolling their Cou-  
rage; he sent almost every man home  
without paying Ransome; he restor'd  
to the Parents and Relations, the Bo-  
dies of such as had died Honourably in  
the Field of Battel, and beyond all this,  
the Corps of the Duke *de Joyeuse*, for  
whom the King, in continuance of his  
favour even after Death, perform'd a  
most magnificent Funeral with Royal  
Pomp. In fine, this Generous Con-  
querour, had so much moderation that  
he sent his immediate protestations to  
the King, that after this advantage he

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deman-

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demanded nothing more, than the Honour of his favour, and the restoring of that Peace which his Majesty had graciously given him, and which their common Enemies had broken.

But after all, it must be ingenuously acknowleg'd, that as he had the conduct and valour of *Hannibal*, in this Battel, so he had his misfortune too, in not understanding the art of managing his Victory, or in his unwillingness to use it. For were it that the Conquerours enrich'd with the Spoils of their Enemies long'd for Quiet, that they might enjoy their Booty at their ease, or that the Noblesse who had serv'd under him as Volunteers, had not oblig'd themselves to longer Duty than till that time; or that having weaken'd by his Victory the party of the *League*, he desir'd not that the *Huguenots*, who confided more in the Prince of *Condè* than himself, shou'd encrease their strength, or to speak more plainly, that certain amorous engagements, somewhat unworthy of a Victorious *Heroe* recall'd him into *Bearne*; most certain it is that he dissolv'd his Army, and licens'd them

them to the time he had appointed, then, repass'd the *Garonne* speedily, with part of the Ensigns and Colours he had taken from the Enemy, which he was ambitious to present to the fair one whom he lov'd, instead of putting himself into a condition, of reaping that Fruit which he might reasonably expect from so great a Victory, and of going speedily to joyn the great Army of *Germans*, which was Marching to his Assistance; and concerning which, it will now be necessary that I speak.

For while these things were acting in *France*, the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who were furiously incens'd against the King, for that disdainfull and rough answer, which he had made to their Ambassadors, set on foot a more powerfull Army, than ever they had sent into this Kingdom, for the succour of the *Huguenots*. There were in this Body which was rais'd, eight thousand five hundred *Reyters*, betwixt five and six thousand *Lansquenets*, and sixteen thousand *Swissers*, whom the *Sieur de Clervant* had obtain'd from the Protestants, for the

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King of *Navarre*: besides four thousand others, whom he had left behind him in his passage through *Dauphinè*, to reinforce the Army of *Lesdiguieres*, but before they were able to joyn him, they were totally defeated by the famous Colonel of *Corfica*, *Alphonso d'Ornano*. Duke *John Castmir*, of whom I have frequently made mention in my History of *Calvinism*, ought to have commanded these *Germans* in his own Person; but immediately before they were to March, he excus'd his going with them, because he was oblig'd to stay in *Germany*, having taken upon him the Government of the *Palatinate* during the minority of the young Electour his Nephew; whereupon they were constrain'd to receive the Baron of *Dona* his Favourite, whom long before he had resolv'd to substitute in his room.

Justice ought in reason to be render'd to every man's desert, in speaking the naked truth, without taking up a prejudice on trust from receiv'd Opinions, which often have very false Foundations: Though the greatest part of the *French* and *Italian* Historians,

rians, have spoken little to the advantage of this Baron; 'tis nevertheless most certain, that he was of a Birth Noble enough to sustain the Quality of a General, and that he was not at all below the Dignity of that Employment, being descended from one of the most illustrious Families of *Prussia*; and his Ancestours having possess'd for many Ages the Honour of *Burgraves*, which is one of the most considerable of the Empire. He was a man who wanted neither Sense nor good Carriage, and was besides extremely brave: but on the other side, he had neither Authority, nor experience enough to command so great an Army, the greater part of whose Officers were commonly at variance amongst themselves, and never willing to obey his Orders.

Thus, to speak properly, he was onely the General of the *Reyters*, though the *Lansquenets* and *Swissers* acknowledg'd him for their Chief, in the room of Prince *Casimir*: But the young Duke of *Bouillon* was he, whom the King of *Navarre* had nam'd for his Lieutenant, and who had the

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Title of General of that Army. Notwithstanding which, he had no absolute Command over it, because there was a Council compos'd of six *French* Officers, and as many *Germans* joyn'd with him, who, together with the Baron of *Dona*, decided all things by plurality of Voices; which was the occasion of much disorder. For the *Germans* seldom or never joyn'd in opinion with the *French*; and on the other side, the *French* were jealous both of them, and of one another; so that there cou'd be no good intelligence amongst them. Besides all which, there were some of their number whom the Duke of *Guise*, the most artfull of Mankind, had gain'd into his Interests, and who underhand gave him notice of all the resolutions, which were taken in the Council.

For the rest, after the Strangers had receiv'd some part of their Pay, which the Queen of *England* had suppli'd, after they had been assur'd of the remainder, and also promis'd that the King of *Navarre* wou'd joyn them in a little time, and that they shou'd have onely the *League* upon their hands,  
and

and not the King, who had Arm'd for no other purpose, but to assist them in the destruction of the *Guises*; they pass'd the *Rhine* about the twentieth of *August*, and in the Plain of *Strasburg* found *William Robert de la Mark* Duke of *Bouillon*, and his Brother *John Robert Count de la Mark*, who had waited there for their coming about fifteen days, with two thousand Foot, and between three and four hundred *French* Horse. Thus this Army in the general review which was made of it near *Strasburg*, was found to consist of thirty three thousand men effective; all experienc'd Souldiers, and well equipp'd; without reckoning into the number, the fifteen or sixteen hundred foot, and two hundred Horse, which the Count of *Chastillon*, Son of the late Admiral, brought thither in a small time after; and about two thousand others who joyn'd them in their march. Insomuch that when they enter'd *France*, they were not less than forty thousand Men; with eighteen or twenty pieces of Artillery; which undoubtedly was sufficient to strike a terrour into those  
against

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against whom they march'd in favour of the King of *Navarre*.

And indeed this distant thunderclap, which was heard as far as *Paris*, alarm'd the Council of Sixteen so terribly, that to shelter themselves from the ensuing Storm, they sent fresh instructions to the principal Cities of the Kingdom, and a new form of Oath to unite them more straitly to themselves in their common defence : endeavouring maliciously to make them believe, that it was the King himself who had call'd in these *Heretique* Foreigners, with intention of destroying those who defended the *Catholique* Religion, and with design that hereafter Heresie it self and the Promoter of it shou'd Reign in *France*. But the Duke of *Guise*, whose undaunted heart was not capable of the least cowardise, took ways much different from theirs, in pursuance of the same design, *viz.* the destruction of that formidable Army, which menac'd him with inevitable ruine. And he compass'd his intentions happily and gloriously, by his admirable conduct, readines of wit, and daring resolution, performing one of the

the noblest actions which were ever done, and which alone may justly rank him with the greatest Heroes of Antiquity.

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He had almost nothing of all that had been promis'd him at *Meaux*, when there was made the partition of the Forces, which by appointment were to serve in the King's Army and in his. Of twenty Troups of Men at Arms which were order'd him, not one appear'd at the Rendevouz that was assign'd at *Chauumont*: there was neither Money, nor Ammunition, nor Cannon sent him: so that having assembled at *Vaucoleur*, on the twenty second of *August*, all the forces he could get together, by the means of his friends, and partly by the money of the *Parisians*, there were found no more than a body of three thousand Men; that is to say, about six hundred *Cuirassiers* of his own company, and those of the Prince of *Joinville's*, his Son, of the Count of *Chaligny*, the Chevalier d'*Aumale*, the *Sieurs* of *La Chastre*, and *D'Amblize*; three hundred Horse which were sent him from the Garrison of *Cambray* by *Balagny*, who had made

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made himself a *Leaguer*, to change his Government into a Principality, under protection of the *League*; besides almost as many light Horsemen, some *Italians* some *Albanois*, which were sent him by the Duke of *Parma*, Governour of the *Low-Countries*. Asfor Infantry he had no more than the two Regiments of Captain *St. Paul*, and of *Johannes*, on whom he very much rely'd.

With these inconsiderable Forces he went to joyn himself with those of *Charles Duke of Lorrain*; who with the Succours which he had receiv'd out of *Flanders*, under the conduct of the *Marquis d'Avre*, and the *Marquis de Varambon*, and all he cou'd Levy in *Germany*, had no more than seven thousand Foot, and about fifteen hundred Horse; Insomuch, that both in conjunction cou'd not make above twelve or thirteen thousand Men at most, to oppose against thirty five thousand, who were coming to fall on them. The Duke of *Lorrain*, who foresaw this Tempest, had done what lay in him to provide against it; and to put himself in a state of defence by  
fortifying

fortifying the greatest part of his Towns. And observing that *Nancy*, his Capital City, was of too little compass to receive those great numbers of Persons of Quality, and Clergy-men, who ran thither for refuge from every quarter, some from their Countrey-houses, others from their small Castles, and unfortified Towns, he took this opportunity to enlarge that great and beautifull part of it, which is call'd the New Town; on the Fortifications of which, being without dispute the fairest and the strongest of that time, he employ'd his Workmen with so much diligence, that it was already in condition of making a stout defence against that Army, which as numerous and as powerfull as it was had never the courage to attempt it.

These two Armies being one of them on this side the Mountains of *Vauge*, in *Lorrain*, and the other beyond those Mountains in *Alsace*, a Council was held in both of them at the same time; and it so happen'd by an accident seldom known, that the same resolution was taken by them both

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both. In the *German* Army the Duke of *Bouillon*, and one part of the Council, wou'd have it, that the War shou'd be made in *Lorraine*; to compass (as they urg'd) at one onely blow the ruine of that House, which first produc'd, and since that time maintain'd the *League*. But the bottom of that design was this, that the *Germans*, had no great desire to be at so great a distance from their own Countrey: and the Duke of *Bouillon* wou'd have been glad under that pretence to provide for the security of *Sedan* and *Jametz* to which he knew the *Lorrainers* cast a longing eye. On the contrary the *French-men*, the Envoys of the King of *Navarre* and the Baron *de Dona*, who follow'd the Orders he had receiv'd from Duke *Casimir*, made it be concluded, that they shou'd satisfie themselves in their passage through *Lorraine*, to make what havock they cou'd in that Countrey, which had been wholly free from War, since that which the *Burgundians* made, who were defeated with their last Duke at the Bat-tel of *Nancy*; and that without stopping their course by investing Towns, they shou'd

shou'd hasten their conjunction with the King of *Navarre* who expected them. *Ann. 1587.*

On the other side, in the Council which was held at *Nancy*, the Duke of *Guise* propos'd to hinder the passage of the Enemy, because, that being well inform'd of the division which was amongst them, he doubted not with those few Troups, which he had then with him, which notwithstanding were compos'd of well disciplin'd and experienc'd men, that he shou'd find some opportunity of Defeating them in that narrow Dukedom, inclos'd on all sides with mountains and Rivers, or at least that he shou'd force them back into their own Countrey: and this was also adher'd to by all the *French* who were then present. But the Duke of *Lorraine*, who by no means wou'd consent to expose his State to the hazard of a Battel, and who after all that cou'd be said, had rather his Dukedom shou'd be ruinated than be lost; wou'd absolutely have it, that without opposing the passage of that Army, one part of his Forces shou'd be put into his Towns, whither the Countrey-

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Country-people shou'd retire, with all the provision they cou'd carry ; that the Ovens shou'd every where be broken, the Mills pull'd down, and the Forage destroy'd ; and that with the remaining part of his Forces, they shou'd coast the Enemies, and constrain them, by the scarcity of all things and by harrassing them perpetually, to depart speedily from *Lorrain*, and pass into *France*, into which he was resolv'd he wou'd not enter. And fearing lest the Duke of *Guise*, whose design and boldness he well knew, shou'd engage his little Army, whether he wou'd or not in some dangerous Battel, he determin'd to have the Command of it himself ; and order'd it to be encamp'd betwixt the New Town, and a little Wood, which serv'd for a Park to an House of his Highnesse's, call'd the *Malé-Grange* ; watching his opportunity to employ it to his most advantage, according to the way which the Enemy shou'd take.

The *Germans* then having assembled in the plain of *Strasburg* almost all their Troups, and finding the passages

ges free, by the retreat of those who  
thou'd have guarded them, but were  
now recall'd to Man their Towns,  
pass'd the Mountain near *Saverne*,  
without other obstacle besides the  
trouble they had for three days space,  
in opening the ways which were in-  
cumbred with bodies of great Trees,  
laid across the passages. They were  
no sooner got over it, than the Duke  
of *Guise*, who lost no occasion of sur-  
prising the *Reyters*, towards whom he  
was advanc'd with the Van-guard,  
order'd the first Camisade to be given  
them, by the famous Colonel *De Rone*,  
who was afterwards made Marshal of  
the *League*, and the Baron of *Swart-*  
*zenbourg*, who in the night attack'd the  
Quarters of Colonel *Bouck*, who was  
undoubtedly the most able Officer  
they had. And being such he was  
not surpris'd, for the Guard he kept  
about his Lodgings was so watchfull,  
that he had timely notice, and was  
got on Horseback when he was at-  
tacqu'd; but he was so vigorously  
charg'd, that with all his brave resi-  
stance, he was not able to maintain  
the place from the Assailants; nor

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hinder them from taking one of his Colours, which the Duke of *Lorraine* sent immediately to the King: as by way of Advertisement that the Enemy was already in his Countrey, and that therefore it was time to Reinforce *Monsieur de Guise* with all the Troups which he had promis'd them.

The next day which was the last of *August*, the *Germans* entring into *Lorraine*, immediately possess'd themselves of *Sarbourg*, which a *Lorraine* Gentleman who was in it, with two Companies sufficient to defend it at least some little time, surrender'd basely on sight onely of their Fore-Runners without staying so much as to be invested. The like happen'd not to *Blamont*, which another young Gentleman of the same Countrey maintain'd so bravely, though the Enemies Foot with their Cannon was lodg'd in the *Fauxbourg*, that having kill'd of them more than two hundred men in one Attacque, he forc'd them to dislodge with shame: And from thence they March'd to *Luneville*, before which they receiv'd a greater affront than was the former. In effect, the Baron  
d' *Ossenville*

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*d' Ossowville* Colonel of the *Lorrain* Infantry, having taken upon him to defend so weak a Place, where he had hastily made some slight Fortifications, shew'd so much resolution grounded on the promise which the Duke of *Guise* had given to relieve him, that they durst not so much as once Attacque the Town. In this manner these Foreigners, who acted rather like Robbers or Bandits than Souldiers, made it their onely Business to waste the Countrey, Plundering, Sacking, and Massacring the very Women and Children, in revenge of the great wants they suffer'd, by being depriv'd of the means of their subsistence; all Provisions being lock'd up from them in the fortifi'd places, in besieging of which they were unwilling to ingage, for fear of loosing too much time.

That which gave the Duke of *Lorraine* the greatest trouble, was the fear he had, lest they shou'd ransack his Town of *St. Nicholas*, which at that time wanted nothing but Walls, to be the fairest and the richest *Bourg* in *Lorraine*, excepting onely *Nancy*,

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as it wou'd be at this day, if the Imperialists, who boasted that they wou'd restore the late Duke *Charles* to his Estates, had not finish'd its Destruction, by their feeble Succours, laying waste the Villages, and open Towns without Defence, and particularly that famous and sacred *Bourg*, which they had never violated as they did, when they reduc'd it almost into Ashes, if any spark of Religion, or Humanity had been remaining in their Hearts. I hope my Reader will pardon me for this short Digression, and give it to the just resentments which I have against those *Barbarians*; being, as I am, particularly interest'd, in the fortune of that miserable Town, which had never been ruin'd by the *Croats* and *Germans*, if a Duke of *Guise* had been its Champion, as he was on that occasion, which I am going to relate.

For that gallant Prince, seeing the concernment of the Duke of *Lorraine* for it, and its Destruction seeming to be unavoidable, as lying open on all sides, took up his quarters there, and not contented barely to put himself in posture

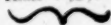
posture of defending it, he Sall'd out of it more than once with great success, and fell into their Quarters, which he always carried. Infomuch that fearing to have to doe with a man of so great Courage and Conduct, and withall so fortunate, who was resolv'd to perish, or preserve the place, which he had undertaken to Defend with the choice and flower of the whole Army; they durst not approach it, but instead of Marching along the Banks of the *Meurte*, upon which this *Bourg* is Situate, about two Leagues from their Quarters in the Nighbourhood of *Luneville*, they turn'd short upon the left hand towards the *Moselle*, which they pass'd near *Bayon*, to go from thence into the County of *Vaudemont*.

Then, seeing there was nothing more to fear for the places which are beyond those two Rivers, they joyn'd together all their Forces, and form'd the body of an Army, with intention to coast the Enemies; to hinder them from sending out stragling Parties, and from laying waste the flat Countrey, according to their ordinary custome.

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This resolution being taken, The Duke of *Guise* who led the Vanguard, sent *Monfieur de la Chastre* Marhal of the Camp, to take up Quarters for the Army at *Pont St. Vincent*. But, because the Duke at this place perform'd one of the bravest Actions, which have ever been done in War, and which particularly made manifest his great Ability and strong *Genius*; I will take upon me to describe it in the most exact manner I am able, that the Beauty of it may be seen in all its circumstances.

The River of *Madon* is somewhat Narrow, but exceeding Deep; it takes its source at the foot of the Mountains of *Vauge*, and runs from the South towards the North, and having receiv'd into its Bed, the little Rivers of *Dompaire*, *Illon*, *Vittel*, *Coulon*, and *Brenon*, it waters the Town of *Mirecour*, and the Burroughs of *Haroue*, *Ormes*, *Buligny*, *Acraigne*, *Blainville*, about ten Leagues distant from *Nancy*, and four above *Toul*. A little below this River thus increas'd, and on this side the *Moselle* stands *Pont St. Vincent*, a little City, or rather a great Burrough, Situate

Situate on the descent of a Hill, some part of it inclos'd with weak Walls; the rest onely fenc'd with a quick-set Hedge, towards the foot of the Hill, spreading along by the sides of the *Moselle*; over which there was a Bridge; on the right hand it had the *Madon*, and the rib of a craggy Hill, planted with Vines, incompats'd with strong Quick-sets, and the top of it cover'd with over grown Woods, which extended even to the Neighbourhood of *Toul*, and was parted from the *Madon* by a Meadow, which is bounded by that River, and narrow'd to a very little bredth.

Here it was that the *Catholique Army* went to take up their Quarters, on the fifteenth of *September*; *Monsieur de Guise* arriv'd there at seven of the Clock in the Morning, and without staying for the gros of the Vanguard which follow'd him, accompani'd onely by the *Sieurs de La Chastre, Bassompierre, de Dunes* Brother to *Monsieur d'Entragues*, and three or four besides them, Rideing on Nags, and all of them Unarm'd as he was, went to observe some advantage-

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ous place, where he might Lodge his Vanguard, under Protection of the *Madon*, which he was certainly inform'd was not foordable in any part of it, since the Rains which had fall'n for four or five days together without intermission. But not being able thereabout to find a Post which was fuitable to his purpose, he advanc'd as far as the Quarters of his Light-Horse, who were March'd beyond the Vanguard, under the Conduct of *Rone* and the Baron of *Swartzembourg*, and were Quarter'd almost two Leagues beyond *Pont St. Vincent*, in the Burroughs of *Acraigne* and *Buligny*, where there were Stone-Bridges over the *Madon*. He found them there getting hastily on Horse-back, pursuant to the advice which they had just receiv'd that the whole body of the Enemy, which March'd betwixt the two Rivers, was coming immediately to fall on them.

Yet this hinder'd him not from passing the *Madon*, he the seventh man, and with the same Company, nor from advancing into the Plain to take a view of the Enemy. But he had  
not

not gone far, before he discover'd their Forerunners, and two Cornets of *Reyters*, detach'd from the grofs of their Army, who came thundring upon him, to inclose him. Upon this he turn'd his Horse, repafs'd the Bridge, and staid on the far side of a Brook, upon a little Hill, where he rang'd his light Horse, which were about four hundred to make head against the Enemy. The *Reyters* who had pass'd the Bridge of *Buligny* after them, and pursu'd them hotly, made an halt upon the Brook side, in expectation of their Army, which they believ'd to be much nearer, than in effect it was: and in the mean time the Duke of *Guise*, seeing they were not follow'd by greater Numbers, detach'd against them the *Sieur de Rone*, and *de la Route*, who drove them back and pursu'd them flying upon the Spur, a good space upon the Plain beyond the River. But the *Reyters* finding there three hundred *French* Horse, and about an hundred and twenty Dragoons, with three other Cornets of their Fellows, turn'd upon them in a full body vigorously, and drove  
back



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back those two Troupes of Light Horse, who endeavour'd at a round Gallop to regain the Hill, where their Friends were drawn up in Battalia.

Then it was, (upon the discovery which they made from their Hill, of the whole Army which was fileing over the Bridge,) that their danger was almost inevitable: To expect the Enemy, and stand their Ground, was to take a desperate resolution, of being all cut in pieces; for how was it possible for four hundred Horse, without Infantry and Cannon to make defence against an Army of five thousand men, who were ready to Attacque them, with eighteen or twenty pieces of Artillery? To retire was altogether as impossible; for who knows not that a Retreat of two Leagues, before an Army of twelve thousand Horse, and in open day, can never be attempted without being expos'd to extreme Danger, and constrain'd to change it, to a general Rout; the consequence of which is, that all must be either kill'd or taken.

This being consider'd by *La Chastre* and *Bassompierre*, who were near the Duke,

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Duke, they earnestly desir'd him, to provide for his own safety, while they stopp'd the fury of the Enemy for some time, to procure him the means of retiring to the grofs of their Army, leaving the rest to the disposition of Fortune, which sometimes finds out unexpected ways of safety, when all things are in appearance desperate. At which, the Duke looking upon them with a smiling and assur'd Countenance; No, no, Gentlemen (says he) I cannot on such terms abandon so many brave men, whom I my self have expos'd to this present Danger. I have consider'd the greatness of it, in its full extent; but I think, that at the same time I have found an expedient to draw us out of it. The Counsell which you have given me, as believing it necessary for my safety, I command you to take for your selves, and for us all: Go then, to give out Orders to the Army; draw them up in the narrow Passage, and upon the Hill which is Planted with Vines, without *Pont St. Vincent*, to receive me after I have made the Retreat, which I take upon my self to doe;

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doe; which I will perform, after the manner which I have already cast in my Imagination, and which perhaps shall be as much without Danger, as it is without Example.

After this, *Rone*, and *La Route*, having already without loss, rejoyn'd the Body of Light Horse, he began to encourage his Souldiers, and that much less by his Words than by his Countenance, and that Majestique air, which animated all his actions, and inspir'd a part of his own Courage and assurance into the most fearfull; for appearing at the Head of his little Troup, with his Sword in his hand, otherwise unarm'd, upon a Pad, and beholding his Souldiers and their Officers with a lively piercing eye, which when he pleas'd he cou'd even dart into their Souls, and command them as he thought good, he spoke onely a few words to his *French*, *Italian* and *German* Officers, to each in their own Language, and calling them by their Names, he assur'd them that he had invented an infallible way of preserving them, if they wou'd follow his directions undauntedly, and take him for their Example.

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Those few words chearfully pronounc'd by a Prince, who always perform'd more than he wou'd promise, so much encourag'd those four hundred men, that without farther reflexion on the apparent danger of perishing, and the seeming impossibility of their escape, they look'd disdainfully from their Hill, on that vast Army of the *Germans*, who having almost all of them already pass'd the *Madon*, at the Bridge of *Buligny*, March'd directly towards them in *Battalia*, not doubting but they shou'd inclose them, and cut them all in pieces, if they had the confidence to expect them; or put them to the Rout, and totally defeat them, if they attempted to make their Retreat before them. Yet they stood at first in some suspense, when having pass'd the Brook which was betwixt them and the Hill, they beheld them yet standing firm, and appearing with a resolution of receiving them with their Swords in their hands.

So uncommon a Spectacle stopp'd them a while to observe their countenance, as fearing perhaps that their  
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great assurance proceeded from their being back'd by the whole Army. But at length resum'g Courage, and being asham'd that they had doubted one moment to Attacque so inconsiderable a Party, they sounded a Charge without more delay. Seven Cornets of *Reyters*, having before them three hundred *French-men* of Arms, March'd foremost and began to Mount the Hill at a round Trot against the Enemy; but the ascent was so rough, that their Horses, who were spur'd to the Quick, grew out of breath, and constrain'd them to abate of their speed, and change their Trot into a Footpace. Then the Duke of *Guise*, taking his opportunity to make his Retreat, according as he had modell'd it in his Head, in such a manner as none before him had ever practis'd, Retreated a little farther off upon the Hill, so as to be out of sight of the Enemy; after which having made a half turn on the right hand, he turn'd short upon the left hand at the right of the Enemy, through a little Valley, which was betwixt them and the River. His March was out of View, under covert  
of

of the Hills, which hid that Valley, as far as to a Foord which he had observ'd, though he had been inform'd that there was none: besides which there was a Mill, wherein he Lodg'd a dozen Arquebusiers, who were resolv'd to defend it to the utmost, and there he pass'd the *Madon*, from whence the Enemies were departed, in pursuit of him. On that side were onely the *Swissers*, who March'd after the others to pass at the Bridge of *Buligny*, and who being Foot, cou'd neither stop nor follow that Cavalry which had pass'd the River below the *Bourg*, and by that means had the advantage of them. So that turning Face, and descending on the left, along that little River, on the other side of which the Enemy was pass'd to Attacque him, he continu'd to make his retreat towards the gross of the *Catholique Army*, which was drawing up in *Battalia* near *Pont St. Vincent*.

In the mean time the Enemy having with much difficulty overcome the top of the Hill, where they thought to find the Duke of *Guise*, were strangely surpris'd to see him beyond the Water,

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ter, retiring at his ease. Immediately they descended with much more speed than they had Mounted, and pursu'd him eagerly. But they were stopp'd so long by those twelve resolute Souldiers, who defended the Mill upon the Foord, at the expence of their Lives, which they sold at a dear rate, that before they cou'd be forc'd, the Duke had the leisure, without mending his pace, to repass the River on this side, at another Foord, which he had also observ'd adjoyning to that narrow space, and that rib of the Hill planted with Vineyards, where the gros of his Army lay.

In this manner that Prince, who had ingag'd himself too far in discovering the Enemy, found the means of saving his little Troup, and retiring in the Face of a great Army, not by turning his back as is the usual custome, but by going on their side, by a new invented Strategem, and placing the River twice successively betwixt himself and the Enemy. And what Crown'd the glory of the whole action was, that putting himself at the Head of five or six hundred Horse, in that  
little

little Meadow which is at the foot of that rib of the Mountain, on which his Army was not wholly yet embattel'd, he defended the passage of the River and always repuls'd the *Reyters*, who return'd twice or thrice to the Charge, and did their uttermost to Force it; and that having left it free the next Morning, according to the resolution which had been taken in the Council of War, he made good the Retreat of his whole Army, without the loss of one single man.

After both Armies had refresh'd themselves for two or three days, the *Germans* who were always Coasted on the Right, and perpetually harrafs'd by the Duke of *Guise* who led the Vanguard, having pass'd the *Meuse* near *Neuschateau*, enter'd *France* by the Principality of *Joinville*, where they took their first Quarters at *St. Urbain*. The Duke of *Lorraine* who had follow'd them as far as his own Frontiers, and had what he desir'd, when he had seen the Strangers out of his Estates, was resolv'd to go no farther, but retir'd into the Dutchy of *Barre*, as did also the Marquis d' *Havre* with

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his *Walloons*, both of them saying that they cou'd not enter into *France* without permission from the King. Thus the Duke of *Guise* was left to himself, with his own Troups, which amounted not to four thousand men; and nevertheless he undertook with an invincible Courage, and so small a Power, to pursue, to infeeble and entirely to ruine that great Army, which was yet more increas'd in the *Bassigny*, by the conjunction of those Troups, which the brave *Chastillon* Son to the late Admiral brought out of *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, after having travers'd *Lionnois* and *Burgundy* with incredible difficulty.

The Duke then undertook them all, being follow'd by Souldiers as indefatigable as himself, who believ'd there was nothing impossible for them to perform under his Conduct: and sometimes appearing at the head of the Enemy, sometimes at their Rere, then coasting them, now on the right hand, and afterwards on the left, cutting them off from Provisions, giving them continual Alarmes, and harraßing them Night and Day in a hundred several manners,

manners, he reduc'd them often to great extremities, particularly after he was reinforc'd by the Troups, which were brought him by *Monsieur de Mayenne*, by *Chaligny*, *Elbeuf*, and *Brissac* who joyn'd him at *Auxerre*; his Forces then consisting of six thousand Foot and eighteen hundred Horse.

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With these inconveniences, besides those which the continual rain, the broken ways, their gluttony, and consequently sickness, made the *Germans* suffer, their Forces having pass'd the *Saine* near *Chastillon*, and the *Tonne*, at *Mailly-la-Ville*, they advanc'd about the middle of *October*, as far as the Banks of the River *Loire*, which they thought to have pass'd at *La Charité*; where much to their amazement they found that place not onely in a good condition of defence, but the King in person beyond it, with a powerfull Army to dispute their passage, on what part soever they shou'd attempt to force it.

In effect, that Prince, according to the resolution which he had taken to hinder both the King of *Navarre* and

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the Duke of *Guise* from growing too strong, the first by joyning the Army of the *Reyters*, and the second by their defeat, had given the Duke almost nothing of that Succour which he had promis'd him, either to stop or fight the *Germans*; and in the mean time had assembled a very considerable Army in the neighbourhood of *Gien* on the *Loire*, to oppose their passage. His Forces not being less than ten thousand *French* Foot, eight thousand *Swissers*, for the most part levyed out of the *Catholique Cantons*, and eight thousand Horse, the one half *French* the other *Germans*. The Duke of *Montpensier* had also recruited him with the little body which he commanded apart; the Dukes of *Nevers* and of *Espernon*, the Marshals *de Aumont* and *de Retz*, and *La Guiche*, Grand Master of the Artillery, had each of them a Command in it, and held no very good intelligence together, unless in this one particular, that according to the King's express orders, they spoil'd and made unpassable all the Foords from that of *Pas de Fer* near *Nevers*, as far as *Gien*, by laying across

cross them huge bodies of Trees, and whatsoever else they could find, to inumber the feet of Men and Horses.

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This ill understanding amongst the Commanders, and the large Encomiums which rung in *Paris* of the Duke of *Guise*, on occasion of every small advantage which he gain'd upon the Enemy, and more than all, the murmuring, or rather the downright railing of the *Leaguers*, who maliciously accus'd the King of holding intelligence with the *Navarrois*, at the length produc'd this effect in him, that shaking off his fatal drowziness, and those soft pleasures of the Court, with much ado he came to his Army beyond the *Gien* about mid-*October*. Where he had no sooner set his foot, but he began on the sudden to revive, to appear the same brave Duke of *Anjou*, with the same Heroique soul, which inspir'd him with so much vigour when he commanded the Armies of the King his Brother in the fields of *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*.

Undoubtedly there can nothing be imagin'd more generous or more prudent

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dent than what he did on that occasion. He put himself at the Head of his Army; he gave out Orders in his own Person; and caus'd them to be executed with all manner of exactness; he reunited the minds of his Captains and Officers, taking care that every man shou'd employ himself in his own duty, without interfering with the business of another. He shar'd with them the labours and fatigues of War; lying abroad in Tents, sleeping little, was first on Horseback, always in Arms, his Men in good order on the Bank of the River, appearing in a readiness to receive the Enemy wheresoever he shou'd attempt his passage; and giving him to understand by sound of Trumpet and beat of Drum, that he desir'd nothing more than to give him Battel, if he shou'd dare to seek it on the other side.

This manner of proceeding put the Strangers into a terrible consternation: The *French Huguenots* who guided them, had made them to believe, before they enter'd into *Lorraine*, that they shou'd have the Town of *Charité*, and the Bridge for friend. That if those shou'd

shou'd fail them, the *Loire* was foordable almost every where during the Month of *October*; that the King who kept a secret correspondence with the King of *Navarre*, to revenge himself of the *League* their common Enemy, either wou'd joyn himself with them, or at least favour their passage, and that they shou'd find the King of *Navarre* in a readines on the far side of the River to receive them. In the mean time they found the quite contrary to all this: the Town of *Charité* against them, the King in Arms to combat them, and instead of the King of *Navarre*, onely some Envoys from him, who without being able to ascertain them of any thing, barely promis'd them that he wou'd suddenly be with them; or at least in his room a Prince of the Bloud whom he wou'd send to command them. This fill'd with complaints, murmurs, disorders and Sedition the whole Army, which was come down as far as *Neuvy*, without hope of being able to force the passage which the Royal Army in Battalia beyond the River continually defended.

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The *Reyters*, with loud clamours demanded the Money which had been promis'd them as soon as they should be enter'd into *France*: threatening to return into their own Countrey, in case they were not immediately satisfied. The *Swissers* were already harkening to the proposition which some of their Officers, who were gain'd by the King, had made to them of passing into his Army, where they had assurance given them of great advantages. The *Lansquenets* were ready to do as much; all things manifestly tended to revolt. And it was not without incredible pains, that the Baron of *Dona*, the Duke of *Bouillon* and the *French* Officers put an end to this Mutiny by promising to lead them into *Beauce*, a Country abounding in all sorts of Provisions, where they might refresh themselves at their own leisure, expecting there the Money and the Prince whom the King of *Navarre* would send to conduct them by *Vandome* to *Monfoureaux* upon the *Loire*, where he waited to receive them with his Troups. Thus the Army dislodging from *Neuzy*, and turning their back to the *Loire*,

*Loire*, took the Road toward *Beauce*, Ann. 1587.  
marching by little journeys all along  
the River of *Loing*, where they found  
good Quarters on the Estate of *Mon-*  
*sieur de Chastillon*, who spar'd for no-  
thing to content the *Germans*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Guise*,  
who lay betwixt that River and the  
*Tonne*, and had re-assembled all his  
Forces near *Charny*, to observe from  
thence the motions of the Enemy, ha-  
ving receiv'd information that they  
were quarter'd on the twenty fourth of  
*October* in the neighbourhood of *Cha-*  
*stillon*, advanc'd as far as *Courtenay*,  
taking his march from thence towards  
the lower part of the River, thereby  
to put himself betwixt them and *Paris*,  
and to cover that great City, which  
lay open to them; so that five or six  
thousand *Reyters* detach'd from their  
Army, were capable of giving some  
terrible Alarm to the Citizens, by  
Plundering and Firing of their Suburbs.  
This occasion'd the *Parisians*, to re-  
double their ardent affection to that  
Prince, regarding him at that time as  
their onely Protectour; and the *Lea-*  
*guers* who omitted no opportunity of  
decrying



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decrying the conduct of the King, made them believe, that he stopp'd short at *Gien*, on set purpose to abandon them to the fury of the *Reyters*, who without this interposition of the Duke of *Guise* had ransack'd all things to their very Gates.

But this was the least part of their design; for they intended nothing more than to pass on the left hand, through a Countrey more open and more easie, betwixt the Forest of *Orleans* and *Montargis*, and to enter as fast as they were able into the Plains of *Beauce*. For which reason, as soon as he had discovered by his Spies that their Quarters were taken up for the twenty sixth of *October*, spreading two Leagues about *Montargis*, on the left side of the River, he order'd the *Sieur de la Chastre*, to depart about midnight with the Light Horse; who arriving at *Montargis* at seven of the Clock in the Morning, on the same day, (being the twenty sixth) caus'd the Gates of the Town immediately to be shut, that no advice might be given to the Enemies; and the Duke of *Guise* came thither about noon with  
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one half of the Army, the other half *Ann. 1587.*  
not being able to come up till the evening.

As he sat at Table supping with the Princes who accompanied him, one of his best Officers who had been sent to take a view of the Enemy, return'd to make his report, saying, that he had seen seven or eight Cornets of the *Reyters*, who took up their Quarters with their General at *Vimory*, a Burrough almost half a League in compass, a League and half above *Montargis*, and situate not far from the River, which it had on the right hand. His intelligence was true; but he knew not that fourteen other Cornets of them which arriv'd afterwards were lodg'd in the same place; that the *French* were Quarter'd but half a League beyond the *Ladon*, and the *Lansquenets* and *Swissers* in two other Villages, which were but the distance of a League from them.

The Duke after he had consider'd for some time what was to be done on this report, believ'd that those Quarters at *Vimory* might easily be carried in the Night, that the others where-  
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soever they might be, hearing the Alarm, and at the same time fearing to be attack'd themselves, wou'd think rather how to secure themselves in their own Post, and stay for day-light, than to march in 'the dark to the succour of their Fellows: that after he had defeated the *Reyters*, in the next place he might attacque the rest, and put their whole Army to a rout; and in conclusion if he shou'd miss his blow, he had secur'd himself a retreat in the Burrough of *Montargis*.

Thus resolv'd, and rising briskly from the Table, before he had done Supper, he gave command that they shou'd sound to Horse, and that every one shou'd be in readiness to march an hour after at the farthest: The Duke of *Mayenne* not a little surpris'd at the sudden orders, ask'd him whither he was going? he coolly answer'd him, to fight the Enemy. And after having in few words satisfi'd them of the reasonableness of his undertaking, he added, that if any man thought the attempt too hazardous, he had free leave to stay behind at *Montargis*: It may very probably succeed said the Duke

Duke of *Mayenne*, and we will all follow you, yet we are a little too hot upon the execution of it, and it would not doe amiss to weigh the business somewhat better. Understand, Brother, repli'd the *Guise*, raising his Voice beyond the ordinary tone, that I shou'd not come to a resolution of any thing in all my life, which I cou'd not resolve on at a quarter of an hours thinking. On this he Arm'd and mounted on Horseback, finding all his Men in readiness to follow him, full of gaiety in their faces, and not doubting in the least of Victory under his Command against all imaginable odds of number. So important a thing it is in War for Souldiers to have confidence in their Captain, that they believe his fortune, his valour, and his capacity in Military affairs, will always answer for the good success of whatsoever he undertakes.

All the Orders being given, the Infantry which was in the Suburbs, was caus'd to pass through the body of the Town, an hour before the shutting in of the Evening; and drawn up in Battalia, half a League beyond it.

*Ann. 1587.* it. It was divided into three Battalions, each of them consisting of a thousand men. Captain *St. Paul* commanded that on the right hand; *Johannes* had the left, with his Regiment which form'd the second; *Chevriers* and *Pontsenac* were in the middle, at the head of the third; the remainder was left at the entry of the Bridge, and in the Town, in order to the favouring of their retreat.

The Duke of *Guise* who had waited till eight of the clock, for seven or eight hundred Horse of his Army, which were not yet arriv'd from *Courtenay*, distant seven long Leagues from *Montargis*, was resolv'd notwithstanding to go on, and advancing the gro's of his Cavalry before his Foot, he Marshall'd it in four Squadrons. *Monsieur de Mayenne* led the first, of three hundred Horse at the head of the Army: he was sustain'd by *Monsieur de Elbeuf* with his, of two hundred Men at Arms. The Duke of *Guise* plac'd himself on the left hand, and *Monsieur d'Aumale* on the right of the Infantry having each of them three hundred Horse.

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In this Order this little Army <sup>Ann. 1587.</sup> march'd directly on to *Vimory* through a long Plain, and in a night so dark that one man cou'd not discern another. Notwithstanding which they kept on their way, till the Guides having advertis'd *Monsieur de Mayenne* that they were just upon *Vimory*, he sent before him four Cavaliers, who found neither Sentinel set, nor Guard advanc'd, nor Barrs at the entry of the Town, but the passage wholly free. For which reason, drawing off a little on the left hand, as did also *Monsieur de Elbeuf* on the right to make way for the Foot, *Monsieur de Guise* having given the signal to the Infantry, the three Battalions enter'd one after another into the great Street of *Vimory*, where the Baggage of the *Reyters* lay. And immediately having dispatch'd the first they met, before they cou'd so much as ask the Word, they enter'd the Houses on both sides the Street, killing all the *Germans* whom they found: some of them at their Supper, some in bed, and setting on fire the Granaries and Cellars to consume those who absconded in them.

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This Execution lasted for half an hour, during which they still went forward, firing the Houses as they pass'd along, which being at some distance from each other, cou'd not spread the flames either so fast, or so far as they desir'd. And in the mean time the Souldiers tempted with the sight of the *Reyters* Wagons, instead of staying to plunder till they had completed the victory, as their duty is on the like occasions, fell upon the Baggage in a hurry, and loaded themselves with the richest part of the booty. This gave leisure to the Baron of *Dona*, who was lodg'd at the farther end of the Town, to get on Horseback and rally six or seven Cornets, with which he made shew of advancing against the Foot, who seeing him coming on, made ready to receive him, and forsook their plunder; at the same time calling out to their Horse to enter and sustain them.

This their Outcry caus'd two contrary effects, which occasion'd two great skirmishes, for on the one side the Baron fearing if he pass'd forward in the great Street, through the Flames and

and Wagons with which it was incumber'd, that he shou'd expose himself without defence to the Shot of the Infantry, turn'd on the right hand to another Street adjoyning on the Plain; on the other side the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had taken on the left hand out of the Burrough, coasting the Foot, having heard their cry, advanc'd precipitately before his Squadron, who presently lost sight of him in the dark, and follow'd onely by threescore Men of Arms, put on at a gallop to the succour of the Foot, through the same Street, at the entry of which he rancounter'd the Baron with his grofs of *Reyters*, which charg'd him with extreme fury.

Never was there seen a Combat more unequal or more sharp. The Baron, who was exceeding brave, discerning this Cavalry, whose number he cou'd not distinguish in the dark, rode up to him who was mounted on the white Horse at the head of those Cavaliers, and fir'd his Pistol as he thought at the sight of his Helmet; but it carried no higher than the Chin-piece. 'Twas the Duke of *Mayenne*,

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who at the same time struck with his full force upon his head, and swept off a good cantle of the skin; after which both the one and the other pursuing his point, the Baron with his second Pistol kill'd *Rouvroy* who bore the Duke's colours, and pull'd them from him; and the Duke well seconded by those few brave men who accompanied him, at last broke through this gross of seven Cornets, having lost seventeen Gentlemen in the fight which cost the lives of fourscore *Reyters*.

After this there happening a great Storm which separated the Combatants, the rest of the *Reyters* being now gotten on Horseback, and there being some danger, lest the other *Quarters* which had already taken the Alarm shou'd fall upon them before day, the Duke of *Guise* order'd them to sound the retreat. He made it very fortunately to *Montargis*, in the same order, in which he came; and brought back his Souldiers enrich'd with the booty which they had taken from the *Reyters*, who lost in this occasion near a thousand Men betwixt Souldiers and  
 Servants,

Servants, a considerable part of Ann. 1587.  
their Baggage, and above twelve hundred Hories, on which twelve hundred Foot were mounted in their return to *Montargis*: and what most mortifi'd the Baron, two Camels which he had design'd to present the King of *Navarre*; and the Kettle Drums that are carried before the General as a mark of Honour, the loss of which is accounted to be more shamefull, than that of his own Standard.

Though this Victory was not very great, yet it drew after it important consequences: and made way by the dangerous effects which it had, to the total ruine of their Army. The *Reyters* who had lost the better half of their Baggage, mutined afresh, demanding their Pay, and threatening to retire in case they were not satisfied, which was not possibly to be done. The *Swissers* sent their Deputies to the King, to negotiate their return; and the matter went so far that the Duke of *Espernon*, who led the Vanguard of the Royal Army, concluded the Treaty with them: by which the King

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was oblig'd to pay them four hundred thousand Crowns, and to grant them a free passage into their own Countrey.

The *Lansquenets*, whom the fatigues of so tedious a march had reduc'd to a very ill condition, were also thinking of some means to obtain the liberty of going home. The Baron of *Dona* descri'd on all sides for his extreme neglect in not providing for the security of his Quarters, had wholly lost his authority amongst them; and the *French* who conducted them being continually reproach'd with the unfaithfulness of their promises, were ashamed to shew their heads.

But at last, the certain news of the great Victory obtain'd by the King of *Navarre*, and the hope which consequently they had, that he wou'd speedily appear, with his victorious Army, together with the arrival of the Prince of *Conty*, whom he sent before to command them in his place, till he shou'd himself come up, restor'd their courage, and caus'd a general rejoicing in the whole Army. And because the King's Forces were gone to encamp

encamp at *Bonneval*, to cut off their way, and hinder them from descending lower by the Countrey of *Vandome*, towards the *Loire*, they took a resolution to change their Road, and to march upwards towards the source of that River, according to the King of *Navarre's* request. But seeing they were at that time in good Quarters, in the heart of *Beauce*, and neighbourhood of *Chartres*, they deferr'd for some days the departure of the Army. And that gave opportunity to the Duke of *Guise*, to accomplish at last with so much glory the execution of his design, by the famous defeat of the *Reyters* at *Auneau*, which was immediately succeeded by the total rout of that formidable Army.

That Prince, who some few days after the Combat of *Vimory* had retir'd to *Montereau-faut-Tonne*, as if he had turn'd his back upon the *Germans*, who at the same time enter'd into *Beauce*, and without caring what constructions might be made of his retreat, which rais'd a very odd report concerning him, there refresh'd his Men, for ten or twelve days together; and

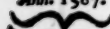
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dismiss'd from thence the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale* with all their Troups, into their severall Governments of *Burgundy* and *Picardy*, against which he imagin'd the Enemies of his House had some design: After which, though he had remaining in his little Army no more than twelve hundred Horse, and betwixt three and four thousand Foot, he put himself according to his custome in pursuit of the Enemy, who march'd exceeding slowly, and ceas'd not from harassing them, till, (before he came up with the Army of the King, who press'd him extremely to a conjunction,) he found an occasion of performing what he had so long time purpos'd, to carry their head Quarters, by making himself master of the place which furnish'd them with victuals. For he nothing doubted but the loss of that wou'd be the total ruine of their Army; which action he perform'd in the manner which I am going to relate briefly.

Being arriv'd at *Estampes* on the eighteenth of *November*, after having for some days coasted the Enemy on the

the right, the next Morning he sent the *Sieur de la Chastre* with seven or eight hundred Horse to *Dourdan*; from whence, the *Sieur de Vins*, who commanded the Light Horse, was detach'd to make discovery of their Quarters. This he perform'd with great exactness, and after some petty skirmishes wherein he had the advantage, he understood from some Prisoners which he had taken, that they were Quarter'd at large in five or six great Villages, two or three Leagues beyond *Chartres*, round *Auneau*, which was the quarter of the *Reyters*.

*Auneau* is a great Burrough Town, or little City, inclos'd onely with Walls of six or seven foot high, without Ditches any way considerable, or Draw-bridges at the Gates, like the other Burroughs of *La Beauce*: On the side of this Town is a Marsh, and a broad Lake, from which there issues a River whose banks are planted with Osiers and other Trees that flourish in a moist soil: 'tis indifferently deep, and not easie to be pass'd unless by the Mills and Villages which were possess'd by the Enemy for more than

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two Leagues below the River, which mixing with the *Lorray* empties it self into the *Eure*, near *Maintenon*; at one end of the Lake there is a Causey, which after having cross'd the Marsh, is terminated at a little Wood and a Warren, right overagainst the Gate of the Castle which commands the Town. The Castle it self is fair, large, and of strength sufficient to defend it self from Storming, having in it a great Base Court, large enough to draw up the Garrison in Battalia there; and which is separated from the Houses of the Town by an open place; so that no approaches can be made without being discover'd. As soon as the Baron of *Dona* was lodg'd in the Burrough into which he enter'd without resistance, the *Reyters* greedy after pillage, fail'd not to come on as far as the Gate of the Base Court belonging to the Castle; into which the Inhabitants had hastily remov'd the best of their Goods, and a great number of their Cattle, which these *Germans* were desirous to get into their possession. But they were repuls'd with volleys of Musquet Shot, which laid three  
 or

or four of them upon the ground. *Ann. 1587.*  
On this the Baron dispatch'd a Trumpet to the Captain of the Castle with a threatning message, that he wou'd set fire on all things in his way, and beat the Castle about his ears with Artillery, for which he wou'd immediately send, in case he desisted not from Shooting. But the Captain who was a *Gascon*, and held the Castle for the King, answer'd with a Bravade, after the manner of his Countrey-men; and let the Baron know by his Trumpet, that he fear'd neither him nor his Artillery; and that if his people made any more so near approaches to the Castle, he wou'd spare neither for Powder nor Ball to set them going as he had done before. This was all the Parlee that was betwixt them, without any manner of ingagement on the *Gascon's* part, (though some have otherwise reported) that he wou'd attempt nothing against those troublesome Guests, who were lodg'd in his Town against his will. Accordingly to secure their lives against a man of the Captain's humour, the *Reyters* barricado'd themselves, and set strong Guards



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Guards at the Avenues, from whence there is a passage into the two great Streets which make the length of the Burrough. After which believing themselves to be now in safety, they took their ease with profound security, for seven or eight days together, during which the season of new Wines being just come in, and the Vintage of that year exceeding plentifull, they fell to ply the Bottle, and to celebrate the King of *Navarre's* Victory, and the Prince of *Conty's* arrival, with all sorts of merriments, and particularly with drunkenness, toying after their Countrey fashion, night and day to the good health of the two Princes.

In the mean time the Duke of *Guise*, whose head was perpetually working how he might surprize them, having receiv'd the Plan of their Quarters from the *Sieur de Vins*, who had been there in person to take the View, resolv'd to attaque them in *Auneau*. To this effect he negotiated so dextrously with the Captain of the Castle, that after many difficulties, which were surmounted by the large promises, and great liberality of that Prince, who  
after

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after the example of *Alexander* gave all away, and reserv'd nothing to himself but onely the hope of accomplishing his enterprises, the *Gascon*, who had no quarrel to a Bag of Money, came at last to a conclusion with him upon that point in the World, in which a wary Governour ought to be most nice; for he agreed to receive his Troups into the Castle, through which they might enter into the Town.

He had advanc'd from *Estampes* as far as *Dourdan* on Friday the twentieth of *November*, when he receiv'd this comfortable assurance; and as his little Army was on its march, on the morrow in order to the execution of his enterprife, he was inform'd that the Enemies had discover'd it by taking a Peasant who was bringing him a Letter from the Governour. This undoubtedly was capable of Making him desist from farther prosecution of it; and all his Captains so advis'd him. But he onely deferr'd it for two days, till he was assur'd that the *Reyters* were no longer on their Guard, and that they still continued their Debauches,  
not

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notwithstanding, that by an Ambuscade he had cut off an hundred, or six score of the bravest men in their whole Army; amongst whom, besides thirty five Gentlemen of the best Houses in *Germany*, were found slain a Count of *Mansfield*, and one allyed to him, who was Nephew to the Archbishop of *Cologne* *Gebbard Truchses*, the same person who, misled by a blind affection, preferr'd the enjoyment of the fair *Chanoiness Agnes de Mansfield* to his Electorat and his Religion, which he renounc'd, to gain the liberty of Marrying her.

The Duke being then resolv'd to carry on his Enterprize, though it was objected to him, that in all probability the Enemy wou'd not have linger'd out the time so long at *Auneau*, and the adjacent places, but out of design to draw him into the Plain, over which he must pass of necessity before he cou'd reach the Town; gave Order on Monday Night, that all shou'd be in readiness to March on Tuesday the four and twentieth of *November*, which was precisely the day that the *Germans* had pitch'd upon,

on, for their return towards the Source of the River *Loire*. Yet on this occasion he reli'd not so much on his good Fortune, as not to take all manner of precautions, and particularly neglected not that of Piety, for before he departed out of *Dourdan* on his March, he did his Devotions publicquely at the Church; where he implor'd the assistance of the Lord of Hosts, for the happy success of his undertaking.

And yet farther, he left his Almoner with the Clergy, to continue all Night their Prayers before the Holy Sacrament, which was expos'd; and by an extravagant Sally of Piety, did an action, no ways to be imitated, yet excuseable in a Prince, who acted sincerely, and Cavalier-like on this occasion, in which he was so far from perceiving the least shadow of ill, that on the contrary, without searching deep into the matter, he believ'd it acceptable to God. For he ordain'd of his own Authority, that every Priest that Night shou'd Celebrate three Masses, as the custome is to doe before *Christmas* Day. And those well meaning men who understood not so much in

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in those times as we do in ours, obey'd him Simply, Devoutly, and without scruple : And it may charitably be believ'd that God who heard their Prayers and accepted their Sacrifice, as the event sufficiently shews, was not offended at what they did out of their simplicity and without reflexion.

The Duke forearm'd in this manner, came up at seven of the Clock in the Evening, to the Rendezvouz, which he had given to his Troups, on the far side of the Wood of *Dourdan*, in an open plain, where according to his Orders, *Monsieur de la Chastre*, Marshal of the Field, had drawn them up in Battalia. The *Sieur de Vins*, with three hundred Light Horse, was at the Head of this little Army. The *Sieur de la Chastre* follow'd him, with his Squadron of more than two hundred Men at Arms : and the Dukes of *Guise* and of *Elbeuf* sustain'd them on the right and the left with their two Squadrons, consisting each of them, of about three hundred Horse. The Infantry divided into four Battalions under the Colonels, *Joannes*, *Pontsenac*,

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*nac*, *Bourg*, and *Gié*, was rang'd on the right hand of the Cavalry, which cover'd it from the Enemy, who cou'd not possibly approach them, but on the left hand in a large Plain, where there was neither Tree nor Bush, nor Hedge for their defence. They March'd in this order during almost all the Night, which was so extremely dark, that wandring about from time to time, they arriv'd not till four in the Morning within a Mile of *Auneau*, in a Valley at one end of the Causey, which led them to the Postern Gate of the Castle, just bordering upon the Warren, till *La Chastre* who advanc'd before the rest, came back and reported that he had heard the Trumpets of the Enemy.

The reason of it was, that the Army was that day preparing to remove their Quarters, but there was some reason to apprehend, that they had had intelligence of the Duke's March. For this cause, that Prince who was advanc'd too far to retire, and who was absolutely bent to Attacque the *Germans*, whether they were advertis'd or not, and to prevent them,  
made

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made his Infantry pass the Causey in File, and himself led them, without the least notice taken by the Enemy, to the Postern Gate which was open'd to him, and which his Men enter'd, as before in File: chearfully exhorting the Souldiers and Officers to doe well, and to make themselves Masters of the rich Booty which was waiting for them, meaning the Baggage of the *Reyters*. After this retiring to his Cavalry, which attending his return had made a halt at the end of the Marsh; he went to dispose his four Squadrons in the Plain round about the Burrough, to receive, and cut in pieces those who shou'd bolt for their safety into the Fields.

In the mean time, Captain *St. Paul*, having left in the Castle as many men as he thought sufficient to secure his retreat, if he were driven to it, was descended into the Base Court, where he gave out his Orders for the Attacke in this following manner. Himself took on the left hand, at the Head of five or six hundred Arquebusers, to charge into the great Street, where the Baron of *Dona* lay: He plac'd

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plac'd on the right hand five hundred more of the Regiment of *Pontsenac*, Commanded by their Colonel, to enter the Burrough by the other Street. He order'd four hundred to stand in Battalia in the Base Court, to sustain and to relieve the first, and Commanded before him three or four hundred with the Forelorn Hope to make the Van : leaving Orders with those who stay'd behind, that as soon as the Attacque was begun, they shou'd slip betwixt the Walls and the Houses, to seize the Gates, where there were neither Guard nor Centry; so little had the Baron profited by that Lesson which he had taken out at *Vimory*, where he had been surpris'd by the like negligence.

Things being dispos'd in this manner, and the great Gate of the Base Court open'd, by removing of the Earth about it, the Forelorn Hope put themselves into the Van, just at the break of day, in that space which is betwixt the Castle and the Town, where they found about fifty Horsemen of the Enemy, appointed for the Guard of the Barricades, who running  
V together



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together at the Noise which was made, receiv'd them so warmly, and repuls'd them with so much vigour, that being affrighted to see themselves without Cavalry to support them, they retreated as far as the Gate. But Captain *St. Paul* coming up at that point of time, and the rest following him, push'd them forward upon the Enemy, crying out as loud as he cou'd, to those who were remaining in the Base Court, that they shou'd Fire without mercy, on all those who gave back one foot of Ground. But that which had more effect on those frightened Souldiers than this terrible Command, or than the inevitable danger of present Death, in case they recoyl'd, was the example of that Brave Captain and all his Officers, who detaching themselves from their several Companies, came up to the Front against the Enemy.

For after having repuls'd those Horsemen, who were soon dismounted and kill'd, by the Volleys of shot, which were pour'd in upon them furiously by the Souldiers who follow'd their Officers, those Gallant men gave on with so much courage against the Bar-  
ricades,

ricades, that having forc'd, broken and overturn'd them in a moment, and slain the Guards who were to maintain them, the whole body of Infantry spread themselves like an impetuous torrent on both sides of the Streets, and without stopping at the Pillage, as they had done before at *Vimory*, they kill'd all within distance of their shot, pelting down the poor *Germans*, as they came dropping out of their Quarters half asleep, staggering with Drunkenness, and half Naked; some with their Pistols in their hands, and some onely with their Swords, not able to get within reach of their Enemies, who having all manner of advantage over them, destroy'd them at their ease; and without sharing any part of the danger with them.

Those of them who were already got on Horseback to depart, being without possibility of drawing up into a Squadron, or marching orderly against the Enemy, in those Streets incumber'd with so many Carriages all harness'd, were slain the more easily, because they stood like so many Marks to the Musquetiers, from whose shot they

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they had no means of shelter. And this encumberment, so fatal to them, serv'd the *Catholiques* instead of a Rampart, from whence they fir'd upon them without danger, and almost without losing one single shot.

In the desperate condition to which these *Reyters* were reduc'd, they cou'd find but one remedy to find covert from this raging Tempest, which they saw come pouring on their Heads, which was as speedily as they cou'd, to gain the Gates, that afterwards they might either rally in the Fields, or save themselves in their other Quarters. But running thither tumultuously in a crowd, they found them to be already seiz'd by the Souldiers of *Joannes*, who drove them back, by firing continually upon them with their Musquets: So that some of them, unable to doe any thing more, for their own safety, suffer'd themselves to be miserably cut in pieces, others returning from whence they came, threw themselves into the thickest of their pursuers, that they might at least have the sad comfort, of dying Honourably like Souldiers with  
 their

their Weapons in their hands. Some Ann. 1587. of them were hidden in their Lodgings, from whence the fire made them bolt half roasted, and fell into the hands of those, who thought it a deed of charity to dispatch them out of their pain, considering the condition in which they saw them. Some there were also, who sliding down from the Walls, thought to preserve themselves by running cross the Fields and Marshes, but the Cavalry soon overtook them, and cut them all in pieces.

In conclusion, of all who were Quarter'd in that Burrough, I find there was onely the Baron of *Dona*, with ten or twelve in his Company who escap'd; whether by means of some House adjoining to the Wall, and thence by some little pathes which he found in the Marsh, or at the beginning of the Alarm, through one of the Gates, which the Souldiers of *Joannes* had not yet shut up. The rest were either kill'd or taken, when, after the heat of that bloody Execution was over, which lasted but for half an hour, there was no more resistance

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made. In this manner was the defeat of the *Reyters* at *Auneau*, where, without the loss of one single man to the Conquerours, there were about three thousand *Germans* kill'd upon the place, and five hundred Prisoners made, without reckoning into the number one of their Companies; which running from the Neighbouring Quarters to the succour of their Fellows, surrender'd themselves cowardly without defence, as soon as they were charg'd in the open Field. Besides the Cornet of the General, there were taken nine or ten other Colours, which the Duke of *Guise* sent away immediately to the King. All the Baggage and Carriages loaded, and ready harness'd for their March, their Arms, their Plate, the Gold Chains of their Officers, and the rest of the Booty remain'd to the Victours; and the Infantry now exalted into Cavalry, mounted on the Horses which they found Bridl'd and Saddl'd to their hands, with Pistols in their Holsters return'd as it were in triumph to *Estampes*, whither also the Duke of *Guise* came immediately upon his

his Victory, which was attended with all those happy consequences he had foreseen.

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For there fell so great a consternation into that shatter'd Army, which after the defeat had rallied within a League of *Aüneau*, that the poor Baron of *Dona*, whatsoever reasons he alledg'd to fortify his opinion, cou'd never induce the Heads of it to go immediately and invest the *Catholiques*, who dreaming on nothing but the Pillage, might easily be surpris'd, incompass'd, and consequently defeated, and all taken or kill'd, in that hurry of disorder. But far from harkning to any such advice, the *Swissers* throughly frighten'd by this second misfortune, much greater than the first, extremely weaken'd, and their numbers wasted by the Fatigues of a three Months March, separated themselves from the body of the Army, and after having accepted of the conditions which the King had granted them, put themselves on the way of returning into their own Countrey.

Those few *Reyters* which were yet remaining in that Army, and the *Lan-*

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*squenets* reduc'd to a pitifull condition, follow'd their example within four or five days afterwards. They found themselves on the one side, pursu'd by the Vanguard of the King's Army, under the conduct of the Duke of *Espernon*, and on the other by the Duke of *Guise*; whom the Marquis *du Pont* had reinforc'd with three or four thousand *Italian* Horse, which the Duke of *Lorraine* had given order to levy at the beginning of the War. They had been inform'd that the *Sieur de Mandelot*, Governour of *Lyons*, was come out with five or six thousand men to cut off their passage; and they were reduc'd after the defeat of *Auneau*, by frequent desertions, by sickness, and by the toils of their long Marches, to a very inconsiderable number, without Victuals, Ammunition and Baggage, and almost without Arms, and hopeless of escaping from the midst of so many enemies by whom they were on every side compass'd. Thus the last necessity forc'd them in conclusion to accept of the Treaty which by permission from the King was still offer'd them by the Duke of *Espernon*;

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to hinder the Duke of *Guise* whom he lov'd not, from the Glory of having intirely defeated so great a multitude of Foreigners.

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The Conditions were, that the *Lan-squenets* shou'd deliver up their Colours; that the *Reyters* shou'd carry away theirs, but furl'd up and put in their Portmantues. That the *French* Protestants shou'd be repossest'd of their Estates, but that they shou'd depart the Realm, in case they return'd not into the Church; That both the one and the other shou'd promise never to bear Arms against the Service of the King, and that his Majesty wou'd give them both an ample safe Conduct and a Convoy, to pass in safety through his Dominions, and to his Frontiers, from thence every man to dispose of himself according to his own liking.

The *French* in that Army us'd their utmost endeavours to hinder the *German*s from accepting such shamefull conditions, promising to lead them without hazard to the King of *Navarre's* Army. But perceiving that the Strangers, far from listning to their Propositions,



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had design'd to detain them as Hostages, to secure their pay, which had been so often promis'd without effect, they shifted every man for himself as secretly as he cou'd, and took different ways to avoid pursuit. The Prince of *Conty* with fourteen or fifteen Gentlemen, struck out of the common Roads into by passages, and retir'd without being discover'd to an Estate of his in the Countrey of *Mayne*. The Duke of *Bouillon* took upon the right hand, and after having cross'd through *Lionois* and *la Bresse* with incredible pains, avoiding continually the High-ways, came at last to *Geneva*, where not long after he Died, being worn out with the Toils he had undergone: in the same manner his Brother the Count *de la Mark* was already Dead, during their March at *Ancy-le-Franc* in *Senonois*. The rest of the Captains retir'd also, slenderly attended and with great hazard and trouble, into other parts.

There was onely the brave *Chastillon*, who with about an hundred and twenty Horsemen, resolv'd to run his Fortune, and abandoning themselves to

to his Conduct, pierc'd with great resolution favour'd by Fortune quite through the Troups of *Mandelot*, and all the Countrey of *Lionois*, *Forest*, and *Velay*, from whence they came pouring upon him on all sides, at the sound of the Larum Bell, which they rung in all the Towns, Burroughs and Villages, and arriv'd at last without much loss into *Vivarez*, where he had strong Places, and from thence into *Languedoc*. As for the *Lansquenets* and *Reyters*, after their Treaty concluded and sign'd, they were splendidly treated at *Marigny* by the Duke of *Espernon*, who gave them a Convoy of some Troups of men at Arms, and Companies of Foot, to secure them as far as beyond the *Saone*, which they were order'd to pass at *Mascon*. Yet all this prevented not the loss of a great part of these miserable *Germans*, who falling Sick, or staying behind the rest out of weakness, or being at too great a distance from their Convoy, and scatteringly Quarter'd, had their throats Cut, and were knock'd on the Head without resistance and without mercy, by the *Peasants* in revenge of so many  
horrible

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horrible insolences which those Strangers had committed in *France*.

In this pitifull condition it was that the Baron of *Dona*, and Colonel *Boucq*, who were the onely survivors amongst the head Officers of this ruin'd Army, being arriv'd on the frontiers of *Savoy*, implor'd the mercy of that Duke; who that he might lay an obligation on the *German* Princes, gave them passage through his Estates, from whence retiring through *Switzerland* they got into *Germany*. The surprise was incredible to behold so great a desolation, and so miserable a remnant of the greatest and most flourishing Army, which at any time had been sent out of that Countrey to the succour of the *Huguenots* into *France*. For, in fine, of twenty thousand *Swissers*, nine or ten thousand *Lansquenets*, and eight thousand *Reyters*, which were lev'd for their assistance, there return'd onely four thousand, betwixt Masters and Servants, of whom the greatest part contemn'd and whooted at by their own Countreymen, surviv'd not their misfortunes any long time after; but died as much of shame and sorrow, as  
of

of the diseases which they had contracted by so many hardships which they had undergone, in so long and so unfortunate an expedition.

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The Duke of *Guise*, and the Marquis *du Pont*, who after the departure of these wretches out of *France*, had follow'd them almost as far as *Geneva*, understanding by Letters from the Duke of *Savoy*, that he had taken them into his Protection, abandon'd them to their ill fortune, which persecuted them worse than even their Enemies cou'd have wish'd. After which, in order to refresh their Troups, which excepting onely the *Italians* last arriv'd, had extremely suffer'd during four Months, in which they follow'd and continually harras'd the Protestant Army, they put them into Quarters, in the small territory of the Count of *Montbelliard*, one of the principal Authours of this Expedition, who had instigated the *Reyters* to take Arms. There it was that the Souldiers, to whom too much licence was permitted, reveng'd themselves without mercy (by all manner of Excess, Rapine and Cruelty, Plundering, Burning, Massacring

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Massacring and Spoiling, ) of all those mischiefs which the *Germans*, whose example they ought not to have follow'd had caus'd the *Lorrainers* to suffer.

This great Victory obtain'd against so powerfull an Army, without costing almost any thing, was certainly most Glorious, but withall most fatal and unfortunate to *France*; through the extreme malice, and insupportable insolence of the *Leaguers*, who took advantage from thence, to raise their Idol to the Skyes; at the same time, infinitely debasing him who was God's Lieutenant, and his living Image in *France*, by the indelible character of Royalty. The whole City of *Paris* echo'd from side to side, with loud acclamations of the Duke of *Guise*: In private Families, in publique places, in the Palace, and in the Schools of the University, in the Churches, and Pulpits of the Preachers, they discours'd of nothing but the defeat of the *Reyters*, and that too as of a Miracle, which they wholly and solely attributed to him; comparing him to *Moses*, and *Gideon*, and *David* the destroyer of

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of the *Philistins*, and in short, to every *Heroe* of the Scriptures. And in the mean time, far from commending as they ought in duty, what the King had perform'd with so much Conduct and Valour, in hindring the *Germans* from passing the *Loire*, they went on with dreadfull malice, to charge him with horrible calumnies, and that with so much the more insolence, as he had testified remifness and pusillanimity, when it was his duty to have inflicted severe punishments on those abominable Villains, who three or four months before, had the impudence to publish and to justifie them with a high hand in *Paris*.

For *Prevost* the Curate of *St. Severin*, one of the most Seditious and most impudent fellows of the Age, having dar'd to say in one of his Sermons, that the King (whom he accus'd after the example of the Sixteen, to have call'd in the *Reyters* on purpose to destroy the *Catholiques*,) was a Tyrant, and an enemy of God, and of his Church; *Bussy, le Clerc*, and *Cruce* plac'd themselves in Arms, about the passages of the Parish, to secure the Curate

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Curate from being apprehended, and put in Custody. At the same time, the Curate of St. Bennet, *John Boucher*, the most violent of all the *Leaguers*, having caus'd the Alarm-Bell to be rung in his Church, all the rabble who came running in, from about the University, with Arms in their hands to their assistance, fell upon the Commissaries, the Serjeants and the Archers, whom the Lieutenant *Civill*, and the Lieutenant of the Grand *Provost* had brought to seize them, and drove them back, well loaded with ill Language and with knocks, beyond the Bridges. And then as if they had achiev'd some glorious Victory, in pitch'd Battel against the King himself, (who instead of Marching his Regiment of Guards, to have laid hold on the Mutineers at the beginning of the Tumult, was weak enough to restrain and conceal his just indignation, so far as even to flatter and cajoll them,) the Sixteen in sign of Triumph after so famous an exploit, ordain'd that this day which was the third of *September*, shou'd henceforth be call'd the happy day of *St. Severin*.

Now

Now as they were become more insolent through the impunity of so great a crime, and by the defeat of the *Reyters*, their Preachers animated with the Spirit of Rebellion, made it their business to inspire it more furiously than ever into the people, shamelessly affirming in their publique Sermons, that the King, who had invited the *Reyters* into *France*, being now grown desperate to see his design ruin'd, by the Victories which the Duke of *Guise* had obtain'd over them, had hinder'd the great Defender of their Religion from cutting in pieces the remainder of those Heretiques, that the Duke of *Espernon*, their known Patron and Protectour, had snatch'd them out of his hands by order from his Master, and by a Treaty which he had made with them, to afford them the means of putting themselves in a condition of returning once more into *France*. And the business went so far, that the Spirit of Revolt, (which those Guides of Consciences, those Confessours and Preachers ought to combat with all their force, as being directly opposite to the Gospel, which teaches nothing but Obedience

X

and



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and Submission to lawfull Powers,) was not onely inspir'd into the people in private discourses, in confessions and in Sermons, but also in some manner authoris'd by the *Sorbonne*.

I believe not that I can be taxed with any want of respect to that venerable Body, because when occasion has been given me, which has happen'd more than once, in divers of my Works, I have not been wanting in those due commendations, which the truth it self, to which I am entirely devoted, has drawn from my Pen: But by the same obligation which indispensibly binds me to the truth, I must say that in so numerous a Company, of young and old Doctours mix'd together, 'tis impossible but that there shou'd be form'd in troublesome conjunctures, by the unhappiness of times, some Factions deriv'd from certain mutinous and extravagant persons who deviate from the principles and practices of the more prudent. And as we have beheld in our own days a party, which, in relation to a Book that was condemn'd, was overcome by the greater number of Orthodox Doctours, who  
are

now prevalent ; so, during the *League*, Ann. 1587.  
which had poison'd the minds of most  
in *Paris*, there was one which carri'd  
it by their Caball over the more sound  
and better Divines ; who sigh'd at the  
deplorable blindness of their Brother-  
hood, as shall be seen in the sequel of  
this History.

On the Subject of those Calumnies,  
which the Preachers of the *League*  
and the Sixteen daily publish'd , as so  
many indisputable truths, that faction  
of corrupt Doctours being then assem-  
bled on the sixteenth of *December* ,  
made a decree, in which it was de-  
clar'd lawfull for Subjects to take away  
the Government from a Prince, who  
acted not for the good of Religion and  
of the State ; in the same manner as  
the administration of goods shou'd be  
taken from the Guardian of a Ward,  
who might reasonably be suspected to  
abuse his trust. This was doubtless  
no other than to decide, on a most im-  
portant Subject, a case of Conscience  
from the false and pernicious princi-  
ples of Morals, the most corrupt that  
ever were. Accordingly the King,  
who after having expell'd the Stran-

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gers out of *France*, made his entry into *Paris* in Arms, was exremely surpris'd, at the furious insolence, and unbounded licence which was taken to decry his conduct in their Sermons, and to stir up the people to Sedition. But instead of resenting it like a Severaign Prince, by punishing that attempt, and making a terrible example of its Authours, (who well deserv'd it for that detestable Doctrine, which tends to the subversion of all Monarchy,) he satisfi'd himself with acting like a Censor, or to speak more properly like a Ghostly Father, and a Guide of Consciences.

For all the punishment which he inflicted, for such an ungodly and detestable an action, was to make to those factious people, and principally to Doctour *Boucher*, the most seditious man amongst them, in presence of the Deputies of Parliament, whom he sent for to the *Louvre*, a very pious and charitable remonstrance, in which he taught them to comprehend the great enormity of their crime, which merited eternal Damnation, for having vilified their King, with a thousand

and horrible impostures in the chair of truth, which they had chang'd into a pestilential Pulpit full of lies and calumnies ; after which , when they were come down, they made no manner of scruple to goe immediately to the Altar, and to offer there to God the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, before they had reconcil'd themselves to him, whom they had so unworthily affronted. He added, that though he might justly treat them, as Pope *Sixtus* had lately some Religious of his Order , whom he had sent to the Gallies, for presuming to speak irreverently of him in their Sermons, yet notwithstanding, he wou'd not at this time proceed in that manner against them ; but in case they shou'd once more commit a crime of the like nature, he was resolv'd that his Parliament shou'd doe justice so exemplary and severe upon them, that it might strike a terrour into all wicked and seditious persons who resembled them.

This was all the Vengeance, which this too good and gracious King took upon those people , who abusing his

X 3 Clemency

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Clemency which they now despis'd, grew day by day more insolent against him. Which makes it demonstrable how extremely much it concerns a Prince, so to temper the vertues which he ought to have, that one of them may not destroy the other by its excess, and consequently be dangerous to himself. That his Justice and his Mercy may agree without the interfering of one in the others Province; that by endeavouring to be too rigorously just he become not odious, and by being too yielding he grow not contemptible to his Subjects. In the mean while it was impossible that these excessive praises which were given to the Servant, when at the same time they revil'd the Master with so much malice and indignity, shou'd not create great jealousies and disquiets in him; and that a just resentment shou'd not cause him to take up a resolution of revenging so many affronts as were given to the Royal Majesty, and of putting the *Leaguers* and principally the Sixteen and their Head, out of a condition of disputing any longer with their Severeign for the Mastery.

Mastery. On the other side, the Duke of *Guise* was puff'd up more than ever with such a series of Success, and with those illustrious testimonies which Pope *Sixtus*, and *Alexander* Prince of *Parma*; had so solemnly render'd to his merit; the one by sending him the consecrated Sword, and the other his Arms, as to him, who amongst all Princes best deserv'd the glorious Title of a great Captain. And as he was too clear sighted not to discern the visible signs, which the King in spight of his dissimulation cou'd not hinder often from breaking out, and discovering the disdain and hatred which he had conceiv'd against him; He resolv'd to fortify his party in such manner, that he shou'd not onely have nothing to apprehend, but also that he might hope for all things from his good fortune. And he did it with so much the more ardour and resolution, as he was then more than ever exasperated, and almost driven to despair, by a refusal which he had from the King, which was given him in a most disobliging manner, by preferring his Rival in Ambition before him; which

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he esteem'd the most sensible affront that he cou'd receive : and which afterwards put things out of a possibility of accommodation. Thus it happen'd.

The Duke of *Guise*, after the signal Service which he had perform'd to the Kingdom, was of opinion, that if he demanded some part of the Employments which had been possess'd by the late Duke of *Joyeuse*, Admiral of *France* and Governour of *Normandy*, they cou'd not possibly be refus'd him. And in order to obtain his request more easily, he was content onely to ask the Admiralty, and that not for himself, nor any of the Princes of his Family, but for the Count of *Brissac* ; whom the Nobility of his Birth, and his great desert, together with the services which *France* had receiv'd from the brave *Timoleon de Cossé* his Brother, Colonel of the *French* Infantry, and from his Father the great Marshal of *Brissac*, Viceroy of *Piedmont*, might raise without envy, and with universal applause to that high command. After the Duke had been held in hand, and sed with fair promises and false hopes, he not onely fail'd of obtaining the

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the place which he requested, but as if it had purposely been done to spight him, it was conferr'd, together with the Government of *Normandy*, on the Duke of *Espernon* his declar'd Enemy, whose Character I shall next give you.

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*John Louis de Nogaret*, the youngest Brother of his House, who was call'd when he came first to Court, the young *La Valette*, understood so well to gain the favour of the King, particularly after *Quelus* one of those unhappy Minions who kill'd each other in Duel, had recommended him to his Majesty at his death, that immediately he grew up into the first rank of Favourites, with the Duke of *Joyeuse*, over whom at length he carried it, having had the cunning to insinuate into him the desire of Commanding an Army, and by that artifice to remove him from his Master's sight. There was no sort of Honour, Wealth or Dignities which the King did not heap on this new Minion: in favour of whom he erected *Espernon* into a Dutchy, to make him Duke and Peer as well as *Anne de Joyeuse*,



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*Joyeuse*, because he had taken upon him to make them equal in all circumstances; having so great a tenderness for both of them, (I might say weakness unworthy of a King,) that he answer'd those who represented to him his great profusions, and that he impoverish'd himself to enrich them, that when he had married and settled his two Children, for so he call'd them in his ordinary discourse, he was then resolv'd to turn good husband. Yet there was this difference betwixt them, that *Joyeuse* by his courtesie, his civility, his magnificence, and by the winning way of his behaviour, had attracted mens affections; but on the contrary, *Espernon* by reason of his rough, imperious and haughty nature, was hated not onely by the People, and the *Leaguers*, who made a thousand invective Satyrs on him, but also by the great men of the Court, whom he treated with contempt and insolence, as if the favour of his Master which he abus'd, had given him the privilege to affront even those whose vertue and desert was acknowledged and respected by the King.

For

For in this manner it was, that amongst others he us'd *Francis d'Espina* Archbishop of *Lyons*, and *Monsieur de Villeroy* one of the most prudent and faithfull Ministers which our Kings have ever had ; a way of procedure not disadvantageous to the Duke of *Guise*, who laid hold on that occasion to gain the Archbishop entirely to his interests.

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Above all the rest there was an invincible Antipathy betwixt the Duke of *Guise* and this proud Favourite ; who whether it were to please his Master, or to put an obligation upon the King of *Navarre*, with whom he then held a private correspondence, or were it out of the contrariety of their humours, profess'd himself on all occasions his open enemy, omitting no opportunity of rendring him suspected and odious to the King, and of working him up still more and more to a greater height of hatred and indignation against him. And in requital of those ill offices, the Duke of *Guise* was not wanting on his side to animate the People of *Paris* against *Espernon* ; who one day, ran the hazard, ( in passing over the *Pont Nostre Dame*, )

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*Dame*, of being murther'd by the Citizens, who running out of their Shops in multitudes, went about to encompass him, if he had not escap'd by speedy flight. 'Tis true, that the *Nuncio Morosini* foreseeing the fatal consequences of this their enmity, did all he was able by his prudent admonitions to extinguish it; but though he smother'd it for a little time, he cou'd not hinder it from blazing out immediately afterwards. Insomuch that it grew to a greater height than ever, when the King who either wou'd not, or durst not refuse any thing to this Favourite, united in his onely person, what before had been shar'd betwixt him and *Joyeuse*; and conferr'd on him both the Government of *Normandy*, and the Admiralty, which the Duke of *Guise* had requested for *Brissac*.

The Ceremony was perform'd with great magnificence; and the Attorney General in a long Harangue which he made at the Admission of the Duke of *Espernon*, said publicly, that the King who had made so worthy a choice was a great Saint, and deserv'd to be Canoniz'd

Canoniz'd at least as well as Saint *Lewis* ; that the New made Admiral, wou'd expiate for all the crimes of the late Admiral *de Coligny*, and make the *Catholique* Religion once more to flourish in the Kingdom. An insipid Panegyrique, which is indeed no better than a base and fulsome flattery, if the Author does not intend to speak by contraries shou'd no more be suffer'd by great men, who are lovers of true glory, than an affront or a Libel; neither ought they to allow any commendations to be given them, but such as are solid and establish'd on such known truths, that their very enemies shall not be able to deny them.

That Speech which the King's Attorney made on this occasion, did his Master and the Admiral more mischief than all the furious Libels of the *League*. It drew upon them the contempt and railery of the people; which sometimes make a man more uneasy than a Satyr, which is but the impotent anger of a Scribler. And it occasion'd that famous Epigramm, which concludes that *Henry* cannot be deni'd to be a great Saint, and a worker of Miracles,

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racles, since of a little Valley he has in a moment made a mighty Mountain. The Verses run thus,

*Quis neget Henricum miracula pro-*  
*dere mundo,*

*Qui fecit montem, qui modo vallis erat?*

*A Saint at least, our Henry we account;*  
*Who of a Vale so soon has made a Mount.*

An Allusion was made to his Sir-name of *La Valette*, by a kind of clenching Witticism, much in fashion in those times, but which is now exploded. And an offer was likewise made at vilifying his birth, not unlike what *Busbequius*, the Emperour *Rodolphus* his Ambassadour to that King, has written in one of his Letters, perhaps with some little malignity, and following the foolish reports of the rabble, who commonly love to speak disgracefully of Favourites; what we may receive for undoubted truth, is this, that this prodigious raising of the Duke of *Espernon*, a declar'd Enemy to the Duke of *Guise*, was the reason that he, being furiously incens'd  
at

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at the refusal which he had, and at the greatning of a man who sought his ruine, believ'd himself now authoriz'd to give the reins to his resentment, and push his fortune as far as it wou'd go. And from thence ensued all those dismal and tragical events, the very remembrance of which strikes an hor-  
rour into my Soul ; and which never-  
theless in performance of my duty, I  
shall faithfully represent in the follow-  
ing Book.

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THE



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T H E  
HISTORY  
O F T H E  
LEAGUE.

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L I B. III.

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**I**F I intended to follow the Example *Ann. 1588.*  
of *Livy*, the Prince of Latine Hi-  
storians, who never suffers a Pro-  
digy to escape him, and describes it  
perhaps with as much superstition as  
exactness; I shou'd here make long  
narrations how the Sun was obscur'd  
on the sudden, without the interpo-  
sition of any Cloud appearing in the  
Sky, with a flaming Sword shooting  
out from the Centre of the Body; pal-  
pable

Y



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pable darkness like that of the *Egyptians* at noon-day ; extraordinary Tempests, Earthquakes, fiery Phantasms in the Air, and an hundred other Prodigies, which are said to have been produc'd and seen in this unhappy year of one thousand five hundred eighty eight, and which were fanſi'd to be ſo many ominous preſages of thoſe horrible diſorders that enſued in it.

But becauſe I am not of the opinion that much credit ought to be given to thoſe ſorts of Signs, which are commonly the effects of natural cauſes, though very often unknown to us ; nor to the predictions of Aſtrologers, ſome of which verily believ'd they had found in the Stars, that this year ſhou'd be the concluſion of the World : I will onely ſay that the moſt ſure preſage of ſo many miſfortunes then impending, was the minds of men too much exasperated on both ſides, to live in peace with each other ; and not rather to be ſearching out for means of making ſure of thoſe whom they ſuſpected, and diſpoſing of them according to their jealousies.

In order to this the Duke of *Guiſe*,  
alter

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after he had made an end of ruining the County of *Montbelliard*, took his way to *Nancy*, whither he had invited all the Princes of his house, to assemble in the Month of *January*, there to take their resolutions, in reference to the present condition of affairs; and of that happy success which they had in the War against the *Reyters*. Some of them there were, as it is reported, so swoln with that Victory, and so blinded with their prosperity, that they propos'd in this Conference, the most dangerous and most violent expedients; to which the Duke of *Lorraine* a moderate and wary Prince wou'd by no means listen. Howsoever it were, (for I find nothing to confirm these relations, not even in the *Memoires* of their greatest Enemies, who have written most exactly of that Assembly,) 'tis most undoubted, that if they proceeded not so far as to those terrible extremities, yet what was then concluded, pass'd in the World for a most unjust and unlawfull undertaking, and was condemn'd by all those who were not blindly devoted to the *League*.

Y 2

It

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It was, that a Request shou'd be presented to the King, containing Articles, which under the ordinary pretence of their desire to preserve in *France* the *Catholique* Religion, tended manifestly to despoil him of his Authority and Power, and to invest the Heads of the *League* in both. For those scandalous Articles bore this substance in them, that for the service of God, and the maintenance and security of Religion, the King shou'd not onely be most humbly Petition'd, but also summon'd to establish the Holy Inquisition in his Realm; to cause the Council of *Trent* to be there Publish'd, suspending nevertheless that Article which revokes the exemption pretended by some Chapters and Abbeyes against the Bishops: to continue the War against the *Huguenots*, and to cause the goods both of them and of their Associates to be sold, with which to defray the charges of that War; and to pay the Debts in which the Heads of the *League* had been constrain'd to involve themselves for the prosecution of it: To refuse quarter to all Prisoners who shou'd be taken in that

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that War, unless upon condition of paying the full value of their goods, and giving caution, of living afterwards like good *Catholiques*. *Ann. 1588.*

Behold here a most specious appearance of Zeal for Religion ; but in the next place observe the Venom which lies hidden under all these fair pretences. That the King shall unite himself more cordially and more openly than before to this Holy *League* : thereby to keep exactly all its Laws, to which men are oblig'd by this the most solemn and most inviolable of all Oaths. That besides the Forces which he shall be oblig'd to set on foot to wage that War against the *Huguenots* he shall maintain an Army on the Frontiers of *Lorraine* to oppose the *German* Protestants, if they shou'd determine once again to enter *France*. That besides those places which the *Leaguers* already held for their security, there shou'd be deliver'd to them other Towns of more importance which shou'd be specifi'd to him, where they might establish for Governours those of their Heads which they shall name, with power of introdu-

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cing such Garisons and making such Fortifications, as they shall think fit, at the charges of the Provinces in which they are situate. And in conclusion, to secure them that they shall be no more hindred, as till this present they have always been, in the executing of those things which have been promis'd them for the safety of Religion, his Majesty shall displace from his Council, and from the Court, and shall deprive of their Governments and Offices, those who shall be nam'd to him, as Patrons of Heretiques, and Enemies to Religion and the State.

These were those extravagant demands which began to open the eyes of many good *Catholiques*, who had suffer'd themselves to be innocently seduc'd by the appearances of true zeal, which being little illuminated, was not according to knowledge, as the Apostle speaks. For they now more clearly saw into some of those Articles; that the *League* to engage the Pope and the King of *Spain* in their Interests, wou'd be content to abandon those Privileges and Liberties, which

which our Ancestours have always maintain'd with so much vigour and resolution : and to subject to the yoke of a *Spanish* Inquisition, the *French*, who have never been able to undergo it. And in others of them, that they design'd to bereave the King of all the solid and essential parts of Royalty, to leave him onely the shadow and appearance of it, and afterwards to dispose even of his Person, as the Heads of their party shou'd think fit.

And accordingly when the Request was presented to the King on the part of the Associated Princes, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, whose simplicity and whose name they abus'd, and made it a cloke to their Ambition, he conceiv'd an extreme indignation against it, which immediately appear'd in his eyes and countenance. Yet he thought it necessary at that time to dissemble, not finding himself then in a condition of returning such an answer to it, as was becoming a King justly provok'd against his Subjects, who stood on terms with him like Lords and Masters. For which reason, and with-

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all to gain farther time, he contented himself, to say, that he wou'd examine those Articles in his Council, in order to his Answer: which shou'd be in such sort, that all good *Catholiques* shou'd have reason to be satisf'd.

But in the mean time, the Duke of *Guise*, who took not fair words for payment, well understanding the King's design, and resolving not to give the Duke of *Espèrnon* the leisure to conjure down that Tempest which was rais'd against him, and to infuse into his Master those vigorous resolutions which were necessary for him to take, press'd the King continually to give a precise Answer to every particular in those Articles: For he doubted not that in case it prov'd favourable, he shou'd ingross all power in himself, and if it were otherwise, that it wou'd be thought the King resolv'd to maintain the *Huguenots*, and that by consequence the *Catholiques* wou'd enter into a War against him.

On which considerations, being then retir'd into his Government of *Champaigne*, to which place he went after

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after the Conference at *Nancy*, he Ann. 1588.  
plid the King incessantly with Messages  
sent by Gentlemen one after another,  
to urge him to a speedy and punctual  
Answer: And this he did with the  
more eagerness and importunity, be-  
cause on the one side he found him-  
self more powerfull than ever, ha-  
ving a great part of the Gentry, and  
almost all the People, and especially  
the *Parisians* for him. And on the  
other side he observ'd the party of the  
*Huguenots* to be very low and infinite-  
ly weaken'd, by the defeat of their  
great *German* Succours, and by their  
late loss of the Prince of *Condé*, a per-  
son of all others the most strictly tied  
to their Religion, and on whom they  
more relied than any man, not excep-  
ting the King of *Navarre* himself.

He deceas'd on the fifth of *March*  
at *St. Jean de Angely*, of an exceeding  
violent distemper, with which he was  
suddenly seiz'd one evening after Sup-  
per, and which carri'd him off in two  
days time. The Sixteen with infam-  
ous baseness, made a great rejoycing  
for it, and their Preachers fail'd not to  
roar out in their Sermons, that it was  
the



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the effect of the Excommunication, with which he had been Thunder-struck by Pope *Sixtus*. But besides that the King of *Navarre* who had been struck in the same manner by the Bull, had his health never the worse for it, the King, to whom that poor creature the Cardinal of *Bourbon* had been telling the same story, and making wonderfull exclamations in relating it, answer'd him with a smile, That it might very well be the occasion of his death, but withall there was something else which help'd him on his journey. And truly the matter was put beyond all doubt, after the attestation of four Physicians, and of two Master Chirurgeons, who depos'd upon their Oaths, that they had manifestly seen in almost all the parts of his Body, all the most evident signs and effects of a Caustique Poison, burning and ulcerating. A most execrable action, which cou'd not be too rigorously punish'd; and yet the Laws inflicted what was possible on the person of one of his domestick servants, who was drawn in pieces by four Horses in the place of St. *Jean de Angely*. As

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As to the rest, he was a Prince, <sup>Ann. 1588.</sup>  
who excepting onely his obstinate adhering to a Religion, in which he was born, and whole falshood he might have known in time, if he had not been too much prepossess'd, had at the Age of five and thirty years, at which he died, all the perfections which can meet together in one man, to render him one of the greatest and most accomplish'd persons in the World: if at least there might not possibly be discern'd in his carriage and customes some of those little failings, from which the most wise are not exempted, and which may easily be pardon'd, without lessening the esteem which we have for them. And if Fortune which is not always propitious to merit, was not favourable to him on some occasions, wherein he had need of her assistance, yet in this she was his friend, that she gave him the greater opportunity of shewing his invincible courage in his adversities, in which he rais'd himself infinitely above her, by the vigour and greatness of his Soul.

Accordingly

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Accordingly the death of this great Prince was lamented, not onely by those of his own party who lov'd him passionately, but also by the *Catholiques*, and even by the Duke of *Guise* himself; who, Head as he was of an infamous and wicked Faction, which he made subservient to his ends, had of his own stock, and the excellency of his nature, which was infinitely noble, all the generosity which is requisite to love and respect vertue, even in the person of his greatest and most formidable Enemy.

All which notwithstanding, he was content to make what advantage he cou'd of so lamentable an accident, towards the compassing of his designs: And as he observ'd, not onely by this but by a multitude of concomitant accidents and misfortunes, that the *Huguenot* party decreas'd in strength and reputation, and his own grew more bold and undertaking, he set himself more vigorously to push his fortune, and to demand an entire satisfaction to all the Articles of his request; which had so puff'd up the spirits of the Sixteen, that they forgot all manner of moderation,

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moderation, and grew daily more and more insupportable. It happen'd also at the same time, that the King receiv'd several advertisements of the resolution which had been taken in their Council to seize his Person, and to inclose him in a Monastery. And the same Lieutenant of the Provostship of the Isle of *Paris*, *Nicholas Poulain*, who had formerly discover'd the like Conspiracy, to which belief was not given, told him so many particular circumstances in relation to this, that though he was very diffident of that double dealing man, whose integrity he much suspected, yet his evidence concurring with the extreme insolence of the Sixteen, which render'd his report more credible, cou'd not but leave a strong impression on his Soul. Insomuch that at last following the counsel of those who had so long advis'd him, to employ his power and justice against those Mutineers, he took up a resolution once for all to take that thorn out of his side, to reduce *Paris* into that state of submission and obedience which belongs to Subjects; and to extinguish the Faction

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tion of Sixteen, by the exemplary chastisement of the most seditious amongst them.

The preparations which of necessity he was to make to secure the success of this undertaking, the three thousand *Swissers* whom he caus'd to be quarter'd at *Lagny*, the Companies of Guards which were reinforc'd, the Troupes which were sent him from the Duke of *Espernon*, who was gone into his Government of *Normandy*, and all the passages of the River both above *Paris* and below it being possess'd by him, were so many Alarms to those Mutineers who believing themselves already lost, implor'd the assistance of the Duke of *Guise*. That Prince who had advanc'd from *Rheims* as far as *Soissons*, in favour of the Duke of *Anmale* his Cousin, who met with trouble and resistance in his Government of *Picardy*, satisfi'd himself at first with sending them some of his most experienc'd Captains, to regulate and manage their *Militia* in case of need. But some few days after, finding himself still press'd more eagerly by the solicitations of those people, who were  
now

now driven to despair, and believing that this foundation of the *League* on which he had built his hopes being once shaken he himself must perish under its ruins, for that being destroy'd the next design was certainly to fall on him, who was the Head and Protectour of it ; he gave immediate notice to his Friends and Creatures, to get into *Paris*, one after another, at several Gates, and order'd some to assure the Sixteen in his name, that he wou'd suddenly be there in person to live and die with them.

The King, who was advertis'd of this resolution, and who was under great apprehensions of his coming, lest his presence might hinder the execution of his Enterprize, and arm with a word speaking that great City which was entirely at his devotion, sent the President *de Bellievre*, a man of great Authority and known Prudence, to tell the Duke from him, that in the present juncture of affairs, and just apprehension which he had, that his coming wou'd produce great troubles in *Paris*, he thought good he shou'd not come till he receiv'd new orders  
from

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from him, for otherwise he wou'd render himself guilty of all those disorders which might thence ensue.

To this the Duke, who was never to be beaten off from any resolution which he had once taken, answer'd calmly, but in doubtfull terms, that he was ready to obey the King, that he had never intended to go to *Paris*, but in the condition of a Private man, and without a Train: that he desir'd to justifie himself from those aspersions with which he knew his Enemies had basely charg'd him in his absence, that he had reason to believe there was a design on foot to oppress the good *Catholiques*, whose Protectour he had declar'd himself; and that he humbly besought his Majesty to give him some security against so just an apprehension: *Believere*, who well knew that the King wou'd stick at no manner of verbal satisfaction, in case that wou'd prove sufficient to break his Journey, promis'd he shou'd have all the security he cou'd possibly desire. In effect the King was fully resolv'd to have given him all manner of assurances: But as ill luck wou'd have it, this was  
not





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and the loud cries of *Vive Guise* were repeated with far higher peals than had been formerly of *Vive le Roy*; for those loyal shouts were grown out of date, and, the *League* in a manner had abolish'd them.

There was a kind of madness in this Transport, or rather in this furious torrent of their joy; which was so extravagant, that it pass'd even to Idolatry. They hal'd and tore each other to get nearest to this Prince: Those who were born off by the throng to a farther distance, stretch'd out their Arms to him, with their hands clasp'd over their heads; they thought themselves happy, who cou'd croud so near as to touch any part of his Cloak or Boots. Some there were amongst them who kneel'd to him, when he was passing by, and others who when they cou'd not reach him with their hands, endeavour'd to touch him with their Chapelets, which they kiss'd when they had receiv'd that honour, as the custome is in adoration at the Shrines of Saints. A thousand praises were given him, and a thousand blessings. He was call'd aloud  
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the Pillar of the Church, the Prop of *Ann. 1588.*  
Faith, the Protectour of the *Catho-*  
*liques*, the Saviour of *Paris*; and from  
all the Windows there fell upon him a  
shower of Flowers and of Greens,  
with redoubl'd acclamations of *Vive*  
*Guise*.

To conclude, no imaginable de-  
monstrations and testimonies of love,  
honour and veneration, but were  
shown to the height at this tumultu-  
ous entry, by that sudden overflow  
of joy; and that wonderfull dilatation  
of hearts and affections, which was  
to him a sort of triumph, more plea-  
sing than any of the *Cesar's*. Accord-  
ingly he enjoy'd the full gust of it,  
with all the satisfaction of extreme  
pleasure; passing on Horseback very  
leisurely through that infinite press  
of people, bare headed, beholding  
them with a smiling countenance, and  
with that courteous and ingaging air,  
which was so natural to him, saluting  
on the right and on the left, bowing to  
those below in the Streets, and to those  
above in the Windows, not neglecting  
the very meanest, holding out his  
hand to the nearest, and casting his  
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obliging glances on the more remote, he pass'd in this manner to the Queen-Mother's Palace, near *St. Eustache*, where he alighted, and from thence to the *Lowvre*, following her on foot, who had taken her Chair to conduct him to the King, and was witness to those incredible transports of publique joy, and acclamations of that innumerable herd of people, which beat her ears incessantly with the name of *Guise*, bellow'd from more than an hundred thousand mouths.

In the mean time, the King, who had heard with infinite rage of this sudden arrival of the Duke, was shut up in his Closet, where he was in consultation on that Prince's life or death; who had been so blindly rash, as to precipitate himself, in his single person, into inevitable danger, from whence onely his good fortune, (of which he was not Master,) cou'd deliver him. Some there were, and amongst others the Abbot *d' Elbene*, and Colonel *Alphonso d' Ornano*, with the most resolute of those *Gascons*, whom the Duke of *Espernon* had plac'd amongst the five and forty, to be always

ways near the King's person, who counsell'd that irresolute and wavering Prince to dispatch him on the spot, having so fair a pretence, and the means so ready in his hand, to punish a rebellious Subject; who in opposition to his express orders, had audaciously presum'd to come to *Paris*, as it were on purpose to let him know, that he was absolute Master of it. The rest more moderate, and amongst them the Chancellour *de Chiverny*, and the *Sieurs de Bellievre, de la Guiche, and de Villequier* Governour of *Paris*, dissuaded him from that attempt, laying before him, besides the dangerous consequences which this terrible action might produce in such a juncture, that it always concern'd him, both for his reputation, and for the maintenance of the most inviolable Laws of natural equity, before he pass'd to extremities, to hear a man who came to put himself so freely into the hands of his King, and to be answerable for all that was alledg'd against him.

While these things were in debating,  
and the king in suspense betwixt his

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anger and his fear uncertain which way to resolve, the Duke, (who had pass'd through the *French* Guards commanded by *Grillon* who lov'd him not, and through the *Swissers*, which stood ranck'd on both sides of the great Stair-case; and afterwards had travers'd the Hall and the Antichamber fill'd with people who made no very ceremonious returns to his salutations and civilities) enter'd into the Presence Chamber, disguising a sudden fright which seiz'd him, intrepid as he was, with the best face he cou'd set upon the matter, which yet he cou'd not act so well, but that it was easie to discern through that affectation of bravery, that he cou'd have been well contented to have been in some other place, and not to have engag'd himself so far, especially when a certain Princess whisper'd him in the ear to have a care of himself, and that his life and death were under consideration in the Closet. Yet immediately after, as his courage was usually rais'd at the sight of the greatest dangers, he resum'd his wonted boldness, and was not able to hinder himself

self, perhaps by a sudden motion purely natural, and arising from the magnanimity of his heart, from laying his hand on the pommel of his Sword, without his own perceiving it, and from stepping hastily two or three paces forward, with a haughty walk, as if he were putting himself into a posture of selling his life as dear as he was able to his Enemies. But the King at that instant coming out of the Cloiset with *Bellievre*, he chang'd posture suddenly, made a low reverence, and threw himself almost at his feet, protesting to him, that not believing his presence ought to be displeasing to him, he was come to bring him his head, and fully to justify his carriage against the calumnies of his Enemies; and withall to assure his Majesty, that he had not a more faithfull Servant than himself. But the King demanding in a grave and serious tone of voice, Who had bid him come, and if he had not receiv'd an expresse prohibition from him? the business was then brought to a scanning, and some little contest there was betwixt him and *Bellievre*, the last maintaining

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that he had deliver'd him the King's commands, and the former instead of answer, asking him if he had not engag'd himself to return with all possible speed to *Soissons*, which he had not done, and protesting that he had never receiv'd those Letters, which *Bellievre* justifi'd he had written to him.

Then the Queen, who though she seem'd to be in much affliction for the Duke's arrival, yet held a private correspondence with him, broke off the discourse, and taking aside the King her Son, she manag'd his mind so dextrously, that whether she made him apprehend a general revolt of *Paris*, which she had seen so openly to own the Duke of *Guise*, or whether he himself were mollifi'd by the submissive, humble way of speaking which that Prince had us'd, he contented himself for that time to tell him, that his innocence which he was so desirous to prove, wou'd be more manifest if his presence shou'd cause no stirs in *Paris*; and thereupon he sat down to Table, remitting till the Afternoon what he had farther to say to him, and appointing the Queen's Garden for the  
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the place. Then the Duke bowing very low retir'd, without being accompanied by any of the King's Servants, but as well attended by all the Town, to the *Hoftel de Guife*, as he had been from the Gate of *St. Denis* to the *Louvre*.

When he had made reflexion on the danger, into which he had so rashly thrown himself, and which now appear'd more formidable, by considering it with cooler thoughts, than he cou'd possibly in that agitation of spirits, and that anxiety wherein he was in spight of all his courage, when he found himself so far engag'd; he resolv'd he wou'd never hazard his life in that sort again, and took such order concerning it, that from the next day, and so onward, he had in his Palace four hundred Gentlemen who assembling there from all parts of *Paris*, according to his orders, never afterwards abandon'd him. Neither wou'd he adventure to go that afternoon to the Queen's Garden, but well accompanied by the bravest of his Officers, amongst whom Captain *St. Paul*, seeing that after his Master was enter'd, he



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he who kept the door was going to shut it on him, thrust him back roughly, and enter'd by force, follow'd by his Companions, protesting and swearing that if the game was there to be play'd he was resolv'd to have his stake in it.

So that if the King had design'd to have him murther'd in that Garden, which I believe not, though some have written it, 'tis easie to see that the presence of those brave men, who were fully resolv'd to defend their Master, that of the Queen who made the third in this interview, the daring countenance of the Duke, who from time to time was casting his eyes towards his Sword, and to sum up all, that infinite multitude of *Parisians* which encompass'd the Queen's Palace, and many of which were got upon the walls, had hinder'd the execution of such a purpose.

For that which pass'd betwixt them at this Conference, since I find nothing of it in the most exact Memoirs of those times, I shall not offer to relate it, as *Davila* has done by a certain Poetical licence which he and some other

other Historians have us'd, to make men think and speak without their leave, whatever they please to put into their thoughts and mouths. What I can deliver for undoubted truth is this, that there was nothing concluded at this Enterview; and that the King who had resolv'd before hand, to chastise the most Seditious of the Sixteen, and to make himself Master of *Paris*, after a long consultation taken by Night, with those in whom he most confided, continu'd firm to the same resolution, and set up his rest to stand by it, in spight of the arrival of the Duke.

With this determination, he sent the next morning for the Prevost of the Merchants, and the Sheriffs, and Commanded them in company of the Lords, *de Villequier* and *Francis d' O.* to make an exact search for all those Strangers who were come to *Paris* some few days since, without any urgent occasion to call them thither, and to cause them forthwith to depart the Town, without respect of persons. This was a manifest endeavour to weaken the Duke of *Guise*; to reduce him

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him to those seven or eight Gentlemen, who attended him into *Paris*, and consequently to give him occasion of believing that after they had rid themselves of the others, they would attacque him.

Perhaps the design was so laid, as some have conjectur'd with probability enough: but if this were really their intention, there are others, who believe that according to the advice which was given by the Abbot of *Elbene*, they had done more wisely to have begun with the Duke of *Guise*, when they had him single and at their mercy coopt up in the *Lowre*: and they ground this opinion on the meaning of that Abbot's words, who quoted the Scripture to this purpose, "It is written I will strike the Shepherd, and the Flock shall be scatter'd. However it was intended, the *Parisians* immediately took the Alarm, perceiving clearly that those Strangers who were to be sent out of the City, were no others but those very men whom the Duke of *Guise* had convey'd into the Town for their defence and for his own. Insomuch that when they went

went about to execute that Order, Ann. 1588. and to search their Houses, every one oppos'd them ; and the Citizens set themselves with so much obstinacy to conceal their Lodgers, that the Deputies and Commissaries fearing a general Insurrection through all the Quarters, durst proceed no farther. And in the mean time, the Duke of *Guise*, who was the Soul that actuated this great Body, forbore not going to the *Lowvre*, but well accompani'd ; and the very Evening before the Barricades he presented the Napkin to the King.

But, as after the flashes of the Lightning, and the ratling of the Thunder, comes a furious Tempest and lays waste the Field ; so after those mutual fears and jealousies, those Nightly meetings, those Murmurs and Menaces, and those preparations which were made on both sides with so much tumult, either for assaulting or for defence, they came to the fatal day of the Barricado's, which was follow'd by that horrible deluge of misfortunes, with which all *France* was overflow'd.

For at last, the King more incens'd than ever, by the resistance which  
was

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was made to his Orders, and fully resolv'd to make himself be obey'd one way or other, caus'd the *French* Guards to enter *Paris*, with some other Companies and the *Swissers*, which in all, made up six thousand men : this was done on Thursday the twelfth of *May*, just at day break ; he being present himself to receive them on Horseback, at the Gate of Saint *Honorè*. And after having given out his Orders to their Officers, to Post them according to his direction, he enjoyn'd them above all things, to be no ways injurious to the Citizens, but onely to repress the insolence of such, who shou'd go about to hinder the search for Strangers : After which himself retiring to the *Louvre*, the Marshals *d' Aumont* and *Biron*, who were at the Head of the Troups, went to Post them with beat of Drum, in the Church yard of *St. Innocent*, and the adjoyning places, on the Pont *Nostre Dame*, on that of *St. Michael*, on the Pont *au Change*, at the Town-House, at the *Greve*, and at the Avenues of the Place *Mauvert*.

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It appear'd immediately by what follow'd, that this was in effect to give the signal of a mutiny, and general revolt to all *Paris*. For a Rumour being spread, that the King had determin'd to put to Death a great number of the principal of the *League*, and a List being also forg'd of their Names who were to be Executed, and shown openly to the people, the Citizens, according to the order of their Captains and Overseers of their Wards, were in a readiness to put themselves into a posture of defence, at the least motion that was made. For which reason, so soon as they heard the Drums and Fifes, and that they beheld the *Swissers* and the Guards advancing through the Street of Saint *Honoré*, they doubted not but the report which was nois'd about by the Sixteen was true, and farther believ'd (as they had been also assur'd) that the Town wou'd be sack'd, and expos'd to Pillage. The Alarm therefore was given round the City: They began by shutting up their Shops, and the Church doors on that side of the Town: They rang the Tocsin (or alarm

*Ann. 1588.* alarm Bell) first in one Parish and then in another : and immediately afterwards through all *Paris* , as if the whole City had been on fire.

Then the Citizens came out in Arms , under the Overseers of their Wards, and their Captains, and other Officers of the Duke of *Guise* , who had mingl'd themselves amongst them, to encourage and to marshal them. The Count of *Brissac*, who had plac'd himself at the Quarter of the University towards the place *Maubert*, (where *Crucè*, one of the most hot-headed of the Sixteen, caus'd the alarm to be Sounded,) being himself incompass'd with a multitude of Students, a rabble of Porters, Watermen, and Handicrafts men all Arm'd , who waited onely for the signal to assault the *Swissers*, was the first who gave Orders to Chain the Streets , to unpave them, and erect the Barricades , with great logs of Timber, and Barrels fill'd with Earth and Dung , at the Avenues of the Palace : And this word of Barricades passing in a moment from mouth to mouth, from the University into the C ty, and from the City into the Town,

Town, the same was done every where, and that with such exceeding haste, that before Noon, these Barricades which were continu'd from Street to Street, at the distance of thirty paces from each other, well Flanck'd and Man'd with Musquetiers, were advanc'd within fifty paces of the *Louvre*: Infomuch that the King's Souldiers found themselves so encompass'd on every side, that they cou'd neither March forward nor retreat, nor make the least motion, without exposing themselves unprofitably to the inevitable danger of the Musquet shot, (which the Citizens cou'd fire upon them without missing, from behind their Barricades,) or of being beaten down with a tempest of Stones, which came powring upon their Heads from every Window.

The Marshals *d' Aumont* and *Biron*, and *Villequier* the Governour of *Paris*, gain'd little by crying out to the Citizens, that they intended them no harm, for they were too much enrag'd to give them the hearing; and were possess'd with a belief of what *Brissac*, *Bois Dauphin*, and the other

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Creatures of the Duke of *Guise* had told them; who roar'd out, on purpose to envenom them against the Royalists, that those Troups which were entred into *Paris*, were sent for to no other end, than to make a general Massacre of all good *Catholiques*, who were members of the Holy Union; and to give up to the Souldiers, their Houses, their Money, and their Wives. Upon this the Musquet shot, and the Stones from above, were redoubl'd on those miserable men, and more especially upon the *Swissers*, to whom the Citizens were most inexorable.

More than threescore were either slain, or dangerously hurt, as well in *St. Innocents Church* yard, as below on the *Place Maubert*, without giving Quarter, till *Brissac* (who with his Sword in his hand was continually pushing forward the Barricades) arriving there, and beholding those poor Strangers who cry'd out for mercy, with clasp'd Hands, and both Knees on the ground, and sometimes making the sign of the Cross, in testimony of their being *Catholiques*,) stop'd the fury

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fury of the Citizens, and commanding them to cry out *vive Guise*, which they did as loud as they cou'd for safe-guard of their Lives, he satisfi'd himself with leading them disarm'd and Prisoners into the Boucherie of the New Market, by the Bridge of St. Michael, which he had already master'd.

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It cannot be deni'd but that this Count was he, amongst all the *Leaguers* who acted with the most ardour against the Royalists on that fatal day. As being infinitely exasperated, because the King had refus'd him the Admiralty, and refus'd it in a manner so disobliging, as to say openly he was a man that was good for nothing either by Sea or Land, accusing him at the same time, that he had not done his Duty in the Battel of the *Azores*, where the Navy of *Philippo Strozzi* was defeated by the Marquis of *Santa-Cruz*, he burn'd inwardly with desire of Revenge. And when he saw the Souldiers inclos'd on all sides, by the Barricades, which were of his raising, and the *Swissers* at his mercy, 'tis reported that he cry'd out, as insulting

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on the King, with a bitter Scoff, and magnifying himself at the same time; "At least the King shall understand to day, that I have found my Element, "and though I am good for nothing "either at Sea or Land, yet I am some "Body in the Streets.

In this manner it was, that the people making use of their advantage, still push'd their fortune more and more, and seem'd to be just upon the point of investing the *Louvre*; while the Duke of *Guise* by whose secret orders, all things were regularly manag'd amidst that horrible confusion, was walking almost unaccompanied, in his own House, and coldly answering the Queen, and those who came one on the neck of another with Messages to him from the King, intreating him to appease the tumult, that he was not Master of those wild Beasts, which had escap'd the toyles; and that they were in the wrong to provoke them as they had done.

But at last, when he perceiv'd that all things were absolutely at his command, he went himself from Barricade to Barricade, with onely a riding switch

switch in his hand, forbidding the people who paid a blind obedience to him, from proceeding any farther; and desiring them to keep themselves onely on the defensive. He spoke also very civilly to the *French* Guards, who at that time were wholly in his power, to be dispos'd of as he thought good, for Life or Death. Onely he complain'd to their Officers, of the violent counsells which his Enemies had given the King to oppress his Innocence, and that of so many good *Catholiques*, who had united themselves on no other consideration than the defence and support of the ancient Religion. After which, he gave Orders to Captain *St. Paul*, to reconduct those Souldiers to the *Louvre*; but their Arms were first laid down, and their Heads bare, in the posture of vanquish'd men; that he might give that satisfaction to the *Parisians*, who beheld the spectacle with Joy, as the most pleasing effect of their present Victory. He also caus'd the *Swissers* to be return'd in the same manner by *Brissac*, and gave the King to understand, that provided the *Catholique*

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Religion were secur'd and maintain'd in *France*, in the condition it ought to be, and that himself and his Friends were put in safety from the attempts of their Enemies, they wou'd pay him all manner of Duty and Service, which is owing from good Subjects, to their Lord and Sovereign.

This in my opinion makes it evident, that the Duke had never any intention to seize the person of the King, and to inclose him in a Monastery, as that *Nicholas Poulain* who gave in so many false informations, and many Writers as well of the one Religion as of the other, have endeavour'd to make the World believe. For if that had been his purpose, what cou'd have hinder'd him from causing the *Louvre* to be invested? as he might easily have done the same day, by carrying on the Barricades close to it, while the tumult was at the height; and for what reason did he return the *French* Guards and *Swissers* to the King, if his intention had been to have attack'd him in the *Louvre*? This was not his business, nor his present aim, but to defend and protect his

his *Leaguers* with a high hand, and to avail himself of so favourable an opportunity, to obtain the thing which he demanded; and which doubtless had put him into condition of mounting the throne after the King's decease, and becoming absolute Master of all affairs even during his Life.

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In effect, the Queen having undertaken to make the reconciliation, as believing that thereby she might reenter into the management of business, from which the Favourites had remov'd her, and having ask'd him what were his pretensions, he propos'd such extravagant terms, and with so much haughtiness and resolv'dness, speaking like a Conquerour, who took upon him to dispose at his pleasure of the Vanquish'd, that as dextrous as she was, in the art of managing Mens minds, from the very beginning of the conference she despair'd of her success. "For inhancing upon the Articles of *Nancy*, he demanded that "for the Security of the *Catholique* "Religion in this Realm, the King of *Navarre*, and all the Princes of the House "of *Bourbon*, who had follow'd him

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“ in these last Wars, shou’d be declar’d  
 “ to have forfeited for ever their  
 “ right of succeeding to the Crown :  
 “ That the Duke of *Espernon*, *La Va-*  
 “ *leite* his Brother, *Francis d’ O.* the  
 “ Marshals of *Retz* and of *Biron*, Colonel  
 “ *Alphonso d’ Ornano*, and all others  
 “ who like them were favourers of  
 “ the *Huguenots*, or were found to  
 “ have held any correspondence with  
 “ them, shou’d be depriv’d of their  
 “ Governments and Offices, and ba-  
 “ nish’d from the Court, without hope  
 “ of ever being restor’d again. That  
 “ the spoils of all these shou’d be given  
 “ to the Princes of his House, and to  
 “ those Lords who had ingag’d with  
 “ him, of whom he made a long List :  
 “ That the King shou’d casheer his  
 “ Guard of five and forty, as a thing  
 “ unknown in the times of his Prede-  
 “ cessours, protesting that otherwise he  
 “ cou’d place no manner of confidence  
 “ in him, nor ever dare to approach  
 “ his person. That it wou’d please  
 “ his Majesty to declare him his Lieu-  
 “ tenant General through all his E-  
 “ states, with the same Authority  
 “ which the late Duke of *Guise* his Fa-  
 “ ther

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“ther had, under the Reign of *Fran-* Ann. 1588.  
“*cis* the Second: by virtue of which  
“he hop’d to give him so good an ac-  
“count of the *Huguenots*, that in a lit-  
“tle time there shou’d remain no o-  
“ther but the *Catholique* Religion in  
“all his Kingdom. To conclude, that  
“there shou’d be call’d immediately  
“an Assembly of the three Estates, to  
“sit at *Paris* where all this shou’d be  
“confirm’d, and to hinder for the fu-  
“ture, that the Minions who wou’d  
“dispose of all things at their pleasure,  
“shou’d not abuse their favour, that  
“there shou’d be establish’d an un-  
“changeable form of Government,  
“which it shou’d not be in the power  
“of the King to alter.

’Tis most evident that Demands so  
unreasonable, so arrogant, and so offen-  
sive, tended to put the Government, and  
the power of it into the Duke’s hands,  
who being Master of the Armies, the  
Offices, and the Governments of the  
most principal Provinces, in his own  
person by his Relations, his Creatures,  
and the Estates, where he doubted not  
of carrying all before him, especially  
at *Paris*, wou’d be the absolute dispo-  
ser



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fer of Affairs. Infomuch that there wou'd be nothing wanting to him but the Crown it self, to which 'tis very probable, that at this time he pretended, in case he shou'd survive the King, to the exclusion of the *Bourbons*, whom he wou'd have declar'd incapable of succeeding to it.

For which reason, the Queen seeing that he wou'd recede from no part of these Articles, and beginning to fear, that he wou'd go farther than she desir'd, counsell'd the King to get out of *Paris* with all speed, while it was yet in his power so to do. And though some of his chief Officers, as amongst others the Chancellour *de Chiverny*, and the *Sieurs* of *Villeroy* and *Villequier*, who were of opinion that more wou'd be gain'd by the Negotiation, and who foresaw that the *Huguenots* and the Duke of *Espernon*, whom they had no great cause to love, wou'd make their advantage of this retreat so unworthy of a King, endeavour'd to dissuade him from it, yet a thousand false advertisements, which came every moment, that they were going to invest the *Louvre*, and his

his accustom'd fear, together with the diffidence he had of the Duke of *Guise*, whom he consider'd at that time as his greatest Enemy, caus'd him at the last to resolve on his departure.

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Accordingly, about noon the next day, while the Queen Mother went to the Duke with propositions onely to amuse him, the King making shew to take a turn or two in the Tuilleries, put on Boots in the Stables, and getting on Horse-back, attended by fifteen or sixteen Gentlemen, and by ten or twelve Lacqueys, having caused notice to be given to his Guards to follow him, went out by the Port *Neuve*, riding always on full gallop, for fear of being pursu'd by the *Parisians*, till having gain'd the ascent above *Challiot*, he stopt his Horse to look back on *Paris*. 'Tis said, that then reproaching that great City, which he had always honour'd, and enrich'd by his Royal presence, and upbrayding its ingratitude, he Swore he wou'd not return into it but through a Breach, and that he wou'd lay it so low, that it shou'd never more be in a condition of lifting up its self against the

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the King. After this he went to Lodge that night at *Trappes*, and the next morning arriv'd at *Chartres*; where his Officers, those of his Council, and the Courtiers came up to him, one after another in great disorder; some on Foot, others on Horse-back without Boots, several on their Mules, and in their Robes, every man making his escape as he was best able, and in a great hurry for fear of being stop'd; in short, all of them in a condition not unlike the Servants of *David*, at his departure from *Jerusalem*, travelling in a miserable Equipage, after their distress'd Master, when he fled before the Rebel *Abshalom*.

The Duke of *Guise*, who on the one side, had been unwilling to push things to an extremity, to the end he might make his Treaty with the King, and that it might not be said he was not at liberty; and on the other side, not believing that he wou'd have gone away in that manner, as if he fled from his Subjects, who stopping short of the *Louvre* by fifty paces, seem'd unwilling to pursue their advantage any farther, was much surpris'd at this

this retreat which broke the measures he had taken : but as he was endu'd with an admirable presence of mind, and that he cou'd at a moments warning accommodate his resolutions to any accident, how unexpected or troublesome soever, he immediately appli'd himself to put *Paris* in a condition of fearing nothing, to quiet all things there, and restore them to their former tranquillity, and withall to give notice to the whole Kingdom how matters had pass'd at the Barricades, as much to his own advantage, as possibly he cou'd.

To this effect he possess'd himself of the strongest places in the City ; of the Temple, of the Palace, of the Town-House, of the two Chastelets, of the Gates, where he set Guards, of the *Arsenal* and of the *Bastille*, which was surrender'd to him too easily by the Governour *Testu* ; the Government of which he gave to *Bussy Le Clerc*, the most audacious of the Sixteen : He oblig'd the Magistrates to proceed in the Courts of Judicature as formerly : He made a new Provost of Merchants, and Sheriffs, a Lieutenant Civil,

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Civil, Colonels, and Captains of the severall Wards, all devoted to the *League*, in the room of those whom he suspected. Heretook without much trouble all the places both above and below, on the River, that the passages for Provisions might be free. He writ at last to the King, to the Towns, and to his particular Friends, and drew up Manifests (or Declarations) in a style, which had nothing in it but what was great and generous, while he endeavour'd to justify his proceedings, and at the same time to preserve the respect which was owing to the King, protesting always that he was most ready to pay him an entire Obedience, and that he propos'd nothing to himself, but that provision shou'd be made for the safety of Religion, and of good *Catholiques*, which were design'd to be oppress'd, through the pernicious Counsells of such as held intelligence with Heretiques, and projected nothing but the ruine of Religion and the State.

These Letters, together with those which the *Parisians* wrote to the other Towns, exhorting all men to combine with

with them for their common preservation in the *Catholique* Faith, and those of the King, which on the contrary were written, in too soft a style, and where there appear'd more of fear and of excuse, than of resentment and just complaint for so sacrilegious an attempt, had this effect, that the greatest part of the people, far from being scandalis'd at the Barricades, approv'd them, loudly praising the conduct of the Duke of *Guise*, whom they believ'd to be full of Zeal for the *Catholique* Faith, for the good of the Kingdom, and for the Service of the King. And as he desir'd nothing so much as to confirm them in that opinion, he was willing that the body of the City, shou'd send their Deputies to the King, humbly to beseech his Majesty, that he wou'd forget what was pass'd, and return to his good Town of *Paris*, where his most Loyal Subjects were ready to give him all the highest demonstrations of their Obedience and devotion to his Service.

He permitted that even processions shou'd be made, in the Habit of Penitents, to desire of God, that he wou'd please

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please to mollify the King's Heart and this was perform'd with so much ardour, that there was one which went from *Paris* as far as *Chartres*, in a most extraordinary Equipage, under the conduct of the famous Fryar *Ange*. This honest Father was *Henry de Joyeuse*, Count of *Bouchage*, and Brother to the late Duke. He had given up himself to be a *Capuchin*, about a year before this time: having such strong impressions made upon him, by the death and good example of his Wife, *Catharine de Nogaret*, Sister to the Duke of *Espèrnon*, that he was inflam'd with a desire of repentance; insomuch that neither the tears of his Brother, nor the intreaties and favours of the King, who lov'd him exceedingly, nor the ardent solicitations of all the Court, were able to remove him from the resolution he had taken of leading so austere a Life. This noble Fryar, having put a Crown of Thorns upon his head, and carrying an overgrown Cross upon his Shoulders, follow'd by his Fraternity, and by a great number of Penitents, and others who represented in their Habits the several

several persons of the Passion, led on that procession, singing Psalms and Litanies. The march of these Penitents was so well manag'd, that they enter'd the great Church of *Chartres*, just as the King was there at *Vespers*: As they enter'd, they began to sing the *Miserere*, in a very dolefull tone; And at the same time, two swindging Fryars arm'd with Disciplines, laid on lustily poor Fryar *Ange*, whose back was naked. The application was not hard to make, nor very advantageous to the *Parisians*, for the charitable creature seem'd evidently to desire the King, that he wou'd please to pardon them, as *Jesus Christ* was willing to forgive the *Jews*, for those horrible outrages which they had committed against him.

A Spectacle so surprizing produc'd different effects in the minds of the standers by; according to the variety of their tempers, some of them were melted into compassion, others were mov'd to Laughter, and some even to indignation: And more than all the rest, the Marthal *de Biron*, who having no manner of relish for this sort of

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devotion,



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devotion, and fearing besides, that some dangerous *Leaguers*, might have crowded in amongst them, with intention to Preach the people into a Mutiny, counsell'd the King to clap them up in Prison every Mothers Son. But that good Prince, who notwithstanding all his faults, had a stock of Piety at the bottom, and much respect for all things that related to Religion, rejected wholly this advice. He listen'd to them much more favourably, than he had heard all the Harangues of the former Deputies: and promis'd to grant them the pardon they desir'd for the Town, which he had so much favour'd, on condition they wou'd return to their Obedience. And truly 'tis exceeding probable, that he had so done from that very time, if they had not afterwards given him fresh provocations, by proposing the terms on which they insisted for the Peace, which they desir'd.

For the Duke of *Guise*, to whom all these fair appearances were very serviceable, and cou'd be no ways prejudicial, and who always pursu'd his designs in a direct line, knew so well to manage the disposition

disposition of the Queen Mother, who had seem'd at first to be much startled at his demands, that he recall'd her with much dexterity into his interests ; by working on those two passions which were rooted in her Soul. She desir'd to raise to the Throne, after the death of the King her Son, her Grandson *Henry de Lorraine, Marquis du Pont* ; and believ'd that the Duke of *Guise* wou'd contribute to it all that was in his power. But as cunning as she was, she saw not into the bottom of that Prince, who fed her onely with vain hopes of that Succession for another, to which he personally aspir'd. She infinitely hated the Duke of *Espernon*, and believing he was the man, who having possess'd himself of the King's Soul, had render'd her suspected to him, long'd to turn him out of Court ; promising her self by that means to be re-establish'd in the management of affairs from which the Favourites had remov'd her. And the Duke of *Guise* who had as little kindness as her self for the Duke of *Espernon*, concurr'd in the same design, with at least as much earnestness, but for a much

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different end ; for he desir'd to be absolute himself. In this manner this subtle Prince, always dissembling, and artificially hiding the true motives by which he acted, drew the Queen at last to consent to all that he desir'd : and above all, to give her allowance that a request shou'd be presented to the King in the name of the Cardinals, the Princes, the Peers of *France*, the Lords, the Deputies of *Paris* and the other Towns, and of all the *Catholiques* united for the defence of the *Catholique, Apostolique* and *Roman* Religion.

This request which in the manner of its expressions, was couch'd in most respectfull terms, contain'd notwithstanding in the bottom of it, certain Propositions, at least as hard as the Articles of *Nancy* ; and even as those, which not long before were propos'd to the Queen by the Duke of *Guise*. For after a protestation in the beginning of it, that in whatsoever had pass'd till that present time, there had been nothing done, but by a pure zeal for God's honour, and for the preservation of his Church, they demand

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mand of the King, That he wou'd make War with the *Huguenots*, and that he wou'd conclude no Peace till all Heresies were rooted out. That it wou'd please him to use the Service of the Duke of *Guise*, in so just and holy an undertaking; that he wou'd drive out of the Court, and despoil of all their Offices, all those who held a secret correspondence with the *Huguenots*, and principally the Duke of *Espernon*, and his Brother *La Vallette*. Against whom there are recited in that request, all imaginable crimes that cou'd be thought most capable of rendring them odious and insupportable to the whole Kingdom. That he wou'd deliver the Nation from the just apprehensions it had, of falling one day under the power and dominion of Heretiques. And (that there might be given to the City of *Paris* a full assurance henceforth to enjoy a perfect tranquillity, without fear of oppression,) he wou'd not onely please to confirm the new Provosts, and Sheriffs, but that also the said City may have full and entire liberty for the future, to make

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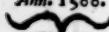
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choice of such as shall succeed in those places, and in those of City Colonels and Captains.

This request was extremely displeasing to the King, who saw but too clearly, that their intention was to give the Law to him hereafter, whom they had first so haughtily affronted. He therefore caus'd it to be examin'd in his Council, where there was but small agreement, because the Members of it were divided in their Interests. There were but two methods to be taken on that subject; either for the King to joyn with the *League* against the *Huguenots*, as the request demanded, or to make War against the *League* with all his Power, in conjunction with the *Huguenots*; for unless he espous'd one of these interests it was impossible for him to succeed. Those of the Council who lov'd not the Duke of *Espernon*, who were many, and who fear'd that the acting of the King's Forces in combination with the *Huguenots*, wou'd prove of great prejudice to his Reputation, and of greater to Religion, were for the former Proposition and Counsel, that  
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all differences shou'd be accommodated in the best manner they cou'd with the Duke of *Guise*, which was also the desire of the Queen Mother : But the rest, who for the most part consisted of those persons, whose disgrace and banishment was demanded in the Request, insisted strongly on the second : and gave their voice for a War to be made against the Duke to the uttermost ; fortifying their opinion by the number of Forces, which the King might raise promiscuously, both from *Catholiques* and *Protestants*, because this was not a War of Religion, but that the Sovereign onely shou'd himself ; to quell and chastise his rebellious Subjects.

It wou'd be a matter of much difficulty to tell precisely what was the true resolution which the King took, betwixt the extremes of these different Counsels. But it may be told for a certain truth, that having a long time deliberated, and that much more in his own breast than with his Council, he seem'd at length all on the sudden to pitch upon the first ; whether it were, that being as he was, a good *Catho-*

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*lique*, and hating the *Huguenots*, he could not yet come to a resolution of uniting himself to them; or were it, that he thought not himself at that time strong enough, even with the King of *Navarre's* assistance, to destroy the *League*, which was grown more powerfull than ever since the *Barri-cades*, and Headed by a man so able, so bold, and so successfull as the Duke of *Guise*; or lastly, as many have believ'd, that being strongly perswaded, he shou'd never be in safety, nor be Master in his Kingdom, while that Prince whom he hated mortally was living, he took up from that very moment a resolution within himself to dispatch him out of the World, and that he might draw him into the Net which he was spreading for him, was willing to grant in a manner whatsoever he desir'd, as if it were done in contemplation of a Peace.

Whatsoever were his true motive, (for I desire not that random guesses shou'd be taken for truths,) 'tis certain that though the King was highly exasperated against the *League*, yet he answer'd their request with much gentleness.

gentleness and moderation, assuring them that he wou'd assemble the three Estates, at *Blois*, in the Month of *September*, there to advise of the means to give them satisfaction, and to deliver them from the jealousy they had of falling one day under the dominion of a *Huguenot* Prince; that for what related to the Duke of *Espernon*, he wou'd doe them Justice, like an Equitable King, and wou'd make it manifest that he preferr'd the publique welfare, before the consideration of any private person.

Accordingly in the first place, that Duke was despoil'd of his Government of *Normandy*, commanded to depart from Court, and retire himself to *Angouleme*. Not long time afterwards the King concluded a Treaty with the Lords of the *League*, to whom, besides the Places which they had already in possession, the Towns of *Montreuil*, *Orleans* and *Bourges* were given for six Years. A publication of the Council of *Trent* was promis'd, with provision against that part of it which was contrary to the liberties of the *Gallicane* Church. 'There was given



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ven to the Duke of *Guise*, instead of the title of Constable, that of Head of the *French Gendarmerie*, which signifies the same thing. Two Armies were promis'd to be rais'd against the *Huguenots*, one in *Dauphinè* under the command of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other in *Saintonge* and *Poitou*, which shou'd be Commanded by a General of the King's own choice : For the new Constable under another name wou'd not be so far from Court, lest his absence from thence might be of ill consequence to his Party. In conclusion the King caus'd to be publish'd the famous Edict of *July*, which he commanded to be call'd the Edict of the Reunion, where he did more in favour of the *League*, than the *League* it self desir'd from him.

For, after having declar'd in that Edict, that he wou'd have all his Subjects united to himself, that in like manner as their Souls are redeem'd with the same price, by the Bloud of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, so also they and their posterity shou'd be one Body with him ; he swears, that he will employ all his Forces, without sparing

sparing his proper life, to exterminate from his Realm all Heresies condemn'd by Councils, and principally by that of *Trent*, without ever making any Peace or Truce with Heretiques, or any Edict in their favour. He wills that all Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and Inhabitants of Towns, and generally all his Subjects, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, shou'd take the same Oath. That farther, they shou'd swear and promise, for the time present, and for ever, after it shall have pleas'd God to dispose of his life, without having given him Issue Male, not to receive for King, any Prince whatsoever, who shall be a Heretique or a promoter of Heresie. He declares Rebels and guilty of High Treason, and to have forfeited all Privileges which have formerly been granted to them, all persons and all Towns, which shall refuse to take this Oath, and sign this Union. He promises never to bestow any Military employment, but on such as shall make a signal profession of the *Roman Catholique* Religion. And prohibits in expresse terms, that any man whosoever shall be admitted to the exercise

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cise of any office of Judicature, or any employment belonging to the Treasury, whose profession of the *Roman Catholique* Religion, appears not under the Attestation of the Bishop or his substitutes, or at least of the Curates or their Vicars, together with the deposition of ten Witnesses, all qualified, and unsuspected persons. He also swears to hold for his good and Loyal Subjects, and to protect and defend as well those who have always follow'd the *League*, as those others who have formerly united and associated themselves against the Heretiques; and that at this present he unites them to himself; to the end they may all act together in order to one common end. And that he holds for null, and as never done, that which seems to have been done against him; as well in the Town of *Paris*, as elsewhere; particularly since the twelfth of *May* to the day of the publication of this Edict: without future molestation or bringing into trouble any person whomsoever, for any thing relating to the premises. But he also wills that all his Subjects of what Quality soever

soever, swear that they will and do renounce all *Leagues* and Confederations, as well without as within the Realm, which are contrary to this Union, on pain of being punish'd, as infringers of their Oath, and guilty of High Treason.

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This Edict was verifi'd in Parliament the one and twentieth of *July*; and publish'd immediately after; being receiv'd with extraordinary transports of joy by the *Leaguers*, who believ'd that by it, they had obtain'd a clear Victory against the King, whom they beheld entirely subjected to the will and good pleasure of their Heads. He himself also as it is reported, with profound dissimulation endeavour'd all he was able to confirm them in that opinion, by making publique demonstrations of his joy, and satisfaction for the peace. He was very solicitous to cause his Edict to be sign'd by all the Princes and Lords who were then at Court: He proclaim'd the convention of the three Estates at *Blois*, which was to be at the beginning of *October* following. He procur'd the Letters Patents for the Duke of *Guise's* Commission

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mission of Intendant General, over all his Armies, with the same power which is annex'd to that of Constable, to be verifi'd in Parliament. He receiv'd him at *Chartres* with such particular tokens of esteem, affection, and trust, that it was believ'd the tender friendship which was betwixt them when the King was then but Duke of *Anjou*, was once more renew'd. He favour'd all his creatures, on whom he bestow'd considerable Employments, and at last, to satisfie him in that point, which of all others was most nice, he caus'd the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be solemnly declar'd the next of Bloud to him, by allowing him all the Privileges and Prerogatives which belong to the Heir presumptive of the Crown. After all, as it is almost impossible that a violent passion in the Soul, what care soever be taken to conceal it, shou'd not discover it self by its consequences, and by some indications, which break out even from the closest men: So this Prince as great a Master as he was in the art of dissimulation, cou'd not act his part so well, but that he gave occasion to those who were  
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more clear sighted, to believe, or at leastwise to suspect, that all which at that time was done by him to testifie his joy, was onely to cover his indignation and his hatred, which urg'd him incessantly to revenge himself on those from whom he had receiv'd such unworthy usage.

For being departed from *Chartres*, and going thence to *Rouen*, where he made the Edict of Reunion, he wou'd never be perswaded to go to *Paris* at his return, what instance soever the Deputies of the Parliament, and those of the Town cou'd make to him: always alledging faint excuses, which he grounded onely on the preparations which he was to make in order to his meeting the Estates at *Blois*. He still retain'd near his person his Guard of the five and forty which the Duke of *Guise* had requested him to dismiss. He gave the command of the Army design'd for *Poitou* to the Duke of *Nevers*, whom the Duke of *Guise* his Brother-in-law cou'd never endure, since his renunciation of the *League*. He admitted none to his private friendship, but the Marshal d'*Aumont*,

*Ann. 1588.* *Aumont*, the Lord *Nicholas d' Angennes, de Rambouillet*, Colonel *Alphonso d' Ornano*, and some few others, who were no friends to the Duke of *Guise*.

In fine, that which made the greatest noise, was, that the Chancellour *de Chiverny*, the Presidents *Bellevue* and *Brulart*, and the *Sieurs de Ville-roy*, and *Pinart*, ( the two Secretaries of State, who had given him advice, to accommodate matters with the Duke of *Guise* ) were absolutely disgrac'd. The Queen Mother who had manag'd that accommodation, had little or no part in business ; and was wholly excluded from the Cabinet Council. The Seals were given to *Francis de Monthe-lon* a famous Advocate, a man of rare integrity, and of inviolable fidelity to the King's service, who rais'd him to that high Employment, without his own seeking, at the recommendation of the Duke of *Nevers*, who was known to be on very ill terms with the Duke of *Guise*.

All this was sufficient without doubt to alarm that Prince, and give him caution to look about him, or at least  
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to suspect the King's intentions towards him, but the flourishing condition, wherein he was plac'd, the applauses which were given him both by the people and by the Court it self, which admir'd both his conduct and his perpetual felicity, and regarded him as Arbitrator and Master of Affairs; and the certain opinion which he had, that all things wou'd go for him in the Estates, had so far blinded him, that he believ'd it was not in the power of fortune to do him any prejudice, not so much as to shake him, or to give the smallest stop to the full carrier of his success. Thus he enter'd as it were in triumph into *Blois* at the end of *September*; and the King came thither about the same time, to order the preparations for the Estates. He commanded that all future proceedings shou'd be as it were sanctifi'd by two solemn and conspicuous acts of piety; which were a most devout and magnificent Procession made on the first Sunday of *October*, the second day of that Month, and by a general Communion, taken by all the Deputies on the Sunday following, the ninth of

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the same Month; on which the King, in token of a perfect reconcilment, receiv'd with the Duke of *Guise*, the precious Body of *Jesus Christ*, from the hands of the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, in the Church of Saint *Saviour*. After which, all those who were expected being at length arriv'd, the Assembly of the Estates was open'd on Sunday the sixteenth of that Month, in the great Hall of the Castle of *Blois*.

As it is not my business to say any thing of this Assembly, which relates not precisely to the History of the *League*, I shall not trouble my self with every particular which pass'd in it. I shall onely say, that the King who was naturally eloquent, open'd the Assembly with an excellent Oration; wherein after he had in a most Majestique manner, and with most pathetique words, exhorted the Deputies to their duty, he either cou'd not or wou'd not conceal from them, that he had not so far forgotten the past actions, but that he had taken up a firm resolution, to inflict an exemplary punishment on such who shou'd persist

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persist in acting against his Authority, and continue to be still possess'd with that spirit of Leaguings and Caballings, which was upon the point of ruining the State; neither wou'd he henceforth spare those who shou'd have any other union, than that which the Members ought to have with their Head, and Subjects with their Sovereign.

This touch'd so sensibly the *Leaguers* of that Assembly, and principally their Head, who look'd on this Speech as particularly address'd to himself, that they proceeded even to threatening that they wou'd break off the Estates by their departure, if the King, who had commanded his Speech to be Printed, wou'd not give order to suppress it, or at least correct that passage. There are some who affirm, that after a rough dispute concerning it, the King permitted at last that something shou'd be alter'd, and the harshness of his expressions a little mollifi'd. But there are others, and even of their number who heard it spoken, who assure us, that it came out in publique in the same terms it was pronounc'd.

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However it were, 'tis certain, that this complaint of theirs much exasperated the King's mind, who saw clearly by this proceeding, that the *League*, notwithstanding its Reunion with him, had still a separate interest of its own, and extremely opposite to his.

I will adventure to say farther, that he was then fully perswaded of it, when he perceiv'd that the Duke of *Guise*, who was the true Head of it, was evidently more powerfull than himself in those Estates. For besides that the greatest part of the Deputies had been elected by the factious intrigues of his dependants in the Provinces, those who were chosen to preside over the several Orders, that is to say the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and of *Guise*, for the Clergy, the Count of *Brissac*, and the Baron of *Magnac* for the Nobility, and the Provost of *Merchants*, *La Chapelle Martau* for the third order, were all of them entirely at the Duke's devotion.

Insomuch that at the second Session, after the Edict of Reunion had been solemnly confirm'd, sworn to again, and pass'd into a fundamental Law  
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of the State, when the Petitions of the three Orders were read, he saw that under pretence of desiring to reform some abuses which were crept into the State, they were fill'd with an infinite number of Propositions, which tended to the manifest diminution, or rather the annihilation of the Royal Authority, and to reduce the Government to that pass, that there shou'd remain to the King no more than the empty name and vain appearance of a Sovereign Monarch; and that all the real and essential part of Sovereignty shou'd be in the *League*, which absolutely depended on the Duke of *Guise*.

Yet farther they were not satisfied barely to propose these things, leaving to the King, according to the Ancient Laws and Constitution of the Monarchy, the power of either passing or refusing them, according to his pleasure, after they had been well examin'd in his Council; but they pretended that after they had been receiv'd by the consent of the three Orders, they shou'd become Laws of course, and be inviolable, so that the

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King shou'd not have the power either to change or abrogate them in his Council. Then they wou'd have an abatement of Taxes and Imposts, but so much out of measure, that they took away from the King the means of making that War, in which themselves had engag'd him. They wou'd also that the Council of *Trent* shou'd be receiv'd absolutely, and without modification. And the famous Attorney General *Jagues de Faye, d' Espeffes*, who in a great Assembly held on that occasion, maintain'd with strength of reason, against some decrees of that Council, the Prerogatives of the King (or *Regalia*) and the Immunities of the *Gallicane* Church, was so ill treated there, though he had baffled the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, who undertook to destroy those Privileges, that the King who was affronted in the person of his Attorney, was not a little displeas'd at their proceedings.

But above all things they were urgent with him, and press'd it with incredible obstinacy, that the King of *Navarre*, who at the same time had assembled the Estates of his Party at *Rochelle*,

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*Rochele*, and from thence had sent to those at *Blois*, intimating his desire of a General Council to be summon'd, where all things might be accommodated, shou'd from that time forward be declar'd incapable of ever succeeding to the Crown. They had made a Decree concerning this, by consent of the three Orders, at the particular instance of the Order of the Clergy. And the King who clearly foresaw the terrible consequences of this unparalleled injustice, and who was ply'd incessantly to subscribe it, was not able to defend himself otherwise, than by amusing them with delays, and rubbs which he dextrously caus'd to be thrown in their way, on sundry pretences. It was not doubted but that the Duke of *Guise*, ( who having two thirds of the Estates for him, was consequently the Master there, ) was Author of all these Propositions so contrary to the true Interests and Authority of the King, especially when it was evident, that he employ'd all his Managers, to cause himself to be declar'd in the Estates, Lieutenant General through the whole Kingdom,

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as if he wou'd possess himself of that Supreme Command, without dependance on the King, and that he pretended his Prince to be no more his Master, as not having power to deprive him of a dignity which he was to hold, from a Commission given him by others.

All these things so unworthy of the Majesty of a great King, at the length quite wear'd out his patience; which after so long dissembling his injuries, on the sudden broke out into the extremity of rage: Insomuch that those among his Confidents, who ardently desir'd the destruction of the Duke for their own advantage, found not the least trouble, in passing on the King for truths, many reports and oftentimes very groundless rumours, which ran of the Duke, adding to them that it was he, who underhand had drawn the Duke of *Savoy* to possess himself of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, as he had lately done. And this they confidently affirm'd, though the Duke by his own interest in the Estates, had procur'd them to vote a War against the *Savoyard*. Thus, whether it were that

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that the King had long since resolv'd to rid his hands of the Duke of *Guise*, in revenge of some ancient grudge and sense of the affronts he had receiv'd from him, particularly on that fatal day of the Barricades; or were it, that being sincerely reconcil'd to him he had taken, or perhaps resum'd that resolution when he saw him act against him in the Estates, of which he had made himself the Master, and believing his own condition desperate, if he made not haste to prevent him, most certain it is, that he deliberated no more, but onely concerning the manner of executing what he had determin'd.

He had onely two ways to chuse, the one by justice, first committing him, and afterwards making his process; the other by Fact, which was to have him slain. He manag'd this consultation with exceeding secrecy, admitting onely four or five of his Confidants, on whom he most rely'd. One of these was *Beauvais Nangis*, who having serv'd the King well, in his Army against the *Reyters*, was restor'd so fully to his favour, that in recompence



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recompence of the Command, of Colonel of the *French* Infantry, which the Duke of *Espernon* had got over his head, he made him afterwards Admiral of *France*, though he never enjoy'd that great dignity, which he had onely under the Signet.

This Lord, who was as prudent, and temperate in Council, as prompt and daring in execution, concluded for the methods of Justice, maintaining that they were not onely the more honest, but also the more safe, because the fear alone which wou'd possess the Duke's party, lest they shou'd kill him, in case they attempted to deliver him by force, and by that means hinder the course of Justice, wou'd stop all manner of such proceeding, and restrain them within the terms of Duty. That after all, if he were once made Prisoner, which might be done without noise or tumult, it wou'd be easie to give him such Judges, as shou'd soon dispatch his Tryal, and that afterwards he might be executed in Prison, according to the Laws. But if on the contrary, they shou'd enter crudely on so bloody an execution,

tion, there was danger lest that <sup>Ann. 1588.</sup> action which was never to be well justified, and which the *Leaguers* wou'd certainly cause to pass in the World, for tyrannical and perfidious, might raise a rebellion in the greatest part of *France*, which had already declar'd so loudly for that Prince, whom they regarded as the pillar of Religion, and wou'd afterwards look on as the Martyr of it. But the rest, who believ'd it impossible on that occasion, to observe the ordinary forms of Law and Justice, and thought that the Head being once cut off, the Body of the *League* wou'd immediately fall like a dead Body, were of opinion that he shou'd be dispatch'd with all possible speed, which was easie to perform, especially in the Castle, where the Duke was almost hourly in the King's power, whom he had in no manner of distrust, as sufficiently appear'd by his Lodging there.

In the mean time 'tis most certain, that this secret was not kept so close, but that he receiv'd advertisement from more than one, of his imminent danger, and that his death already was resolv'd.

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And he slighted not so much these informations, as intrepid as he was, or as he affected to appear, by replying continually, *they dare not*, but that two or three days before his death, he consulted on this affair, which so nearly concern'd him, with the Cardinal of *Guise*, his Brother, the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, the President *de Neuilly*, the Provost of the Merchants, and the *Sieur de Mandreville* Governour of *St. Menchoud*, on whom he principally rely'd. In weighing those proofs which in a manner were indubitable, that a design was laid against him, they were unanimously of opinion that the safest course was to be taken, and that under some pretence or other, he shou'd instantly retire. Excepting onely the Arch-Bishop, who continu'd obstinate to the contrary, fortifying his opinion with this argument, that since he was upon the point, of carrying all things in the Estates according to his wish, he ran the hazard of loosing all by leaving them. And, that for the rest, it was not credible that the King shou'd be so ill advis'd, as to incur the manifest danger of ruin-  
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ing himself, by striking that unhappy blow. To which *Mandrevile* reply'd, Swearing, that for a man of Sense as he was, he was the worst Arguer he ever knew. For, said he, you talk of the King, as if he were a wary and cool-headed Prince, looking before him at every step, and will not understand that he is onely a hot-brain'd Fool, who thinks no farther than how to execute, what his two base passions, Fear and Hatred which possess him, have once made sink into his imagination, and never considers what a wise man ought to do on this occasion. It were a folly therefore, for the Duke to hazard himself in such a manner, and to be mov'd by so weak a reason, to loose all in a moment.

'Tis wonderfull to observe, that the most clear sighted men, who have it in their power if they will use the means before them, to avoid that which is call'd their Destiny, after the misfortune is happen'd, shou'd suffer themselves to be drag'd and hurried to it as it were by force, in spight of their understanding and their foresight, which their own rashness, and not a pretended fatality

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tality renders unprofitable to them. 'Tis reported that the Duke of *Guise*, confess'd that this discourse of *Mandre-vile* carried the greater force of reason, yet nevertheless he added, that having gone so far forward as he then was, if he shou'd see death coming in at the Windows upon him, he wou'd not give one step backward to the door, though by so doing, he were certain to avoid it. Nevertheless 'tis very probable, that the incouragement he had to speak with so much loftiness and resolution, was the assurance, which he thought he had, that the King, whose *Genius* he knew, particularly since the day when he enter'd into the *Louvre*, where the Duke gave himself for lost, wou'd never afterwards dare to take up so bold a resolution as to kill him.

'Tis certain, that when the *Sieur de Vins*, one of his greatest Confidants, had written to him from *Provence*, that he shou'd beware of keeping so near the King, and not rely on those large testimonies of his affection, which he said he had receiv'd, the Duke answer'd him, that he repos'd not the hopes

hopes of his own safety on the King's <sup>Ann. 1588.</sup>  
Vertue, whom he knew to be ill natur'd, and a Hypocrite, but on his Judgment and on his Fear, because it was not credible, but he must needs understand, that he himself was ruin'd in case he made any attempt against his person. But he learnt at his own cost, by the unhappy experiment which he made, that it had been better for him to have follow'd the wise advice which was given him, and which he himself had approv'd, than a bare conjecture, and the impulse of his inborn generosity, which his bloudy and lamentable death, as things are commonly judg'd by their event, has caus'd to pass in the World for an effect of the greatest rashness.

It ought not here to be expected, that I shou'd dwell on an exact and long description of all the circumstances of that tragical action, which has been so unfortunate to *France*, and so ill receiv'd in the World. Besides that they are recounted, in very different manners, by the Historians of one and the other Religion, according to their different passions, and that the greatest  
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part of them are either false, or have little in them worth observation; the thing was done with so great facility, and precipitation, and withall, in so brutal a manner, that it cannot be too hastily pass'd over: this then is the plain and succinct relation of it.

After that the Brave *Grillon*, *Mestre de Camp* of the Regiment of Guards had generously refus'd to kill the Duke of *Guise*, unless in single Duel, and in an honourable way, the King had recourse to *Lognac*, the first Gentleman of his Chamber, and Captain of the forty five, who promis'd him eighteen or twenty of the most resolute amongst them, and for whom he durst be answerable. They were of the number of those whom the Duke of *Guise*, who had always a distrust of those *Gascons* as creatures of the Duke of *Espernon*, had formerly demanded that they might be dismiss'd, from which request he had afterwards desisted. Insomuch that it may be said he foresaw the misfortune that attended him, without being able to avoid it. For, on Friday the twenty third of *December*, being enter'd about eight

eight of the Clock in the Morning, into the great Hall, where the King had intimated on Thursday night, that he intended to hold the Council very early, that he might afterwards go to *Nostre dame de Clery*; some came to tell him that His Majesty expected him in the old Cloſſet, yet he was not there, but in the other which looks into the Garden. Upon this, he arose from the fire side, where finding himself somewhat indispos'd, he had been seated; and pass'd through a narrow Entry, which was on one side the Hall, into the Chamber, where he found *Lognac* with seven or eight of the forty five: the King himself having caus'd them to enter into that room very secretly before day-break: the rest of them were posted in the old Cloſſet, and all of them had great Ponyards hid under their Cloaks, expecting onely the coming of the Duke of *Guise*, to make sure work with him whether it were in the Chamber or in the Cloſſet, in case he shou'd retire thither for his defence.

There needed not so great a preparation for the killing of a single man,

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who came thither without distrust of any thing that was design'd against him: and who holding his Hat in one hand, and with the other the lappet of his Cloak, which he had wrapt under his left Arm, was in no condition of defence. In this posture he advanc'd towards the old Closet, saluting very civilly as his custome was, those Gentlemen who made shew of attending him out of respect, as far as the door. And as in lifting up the Hangings, with the help of one of them, he sloop'd to enter, he was suddenly seiz'd by the Arms, and by the Legs; and at the same instant struck into the Body before, with five or six Ponyards, and from behind, into the Nape of the Neck, and the Throat, which hinder'd him from speaking one single word, of all that he is made to say, or so much as drawing out his Sword. All that he cou'd do, was to drag along his Murtherers, with the last and strongest effort that he cou'd make, struggling and striving till he fell down at the Beds-Fect, where some while after, with a deep Groan, he yielded up his breath.

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The Cardinal of *Guise*, and Archbishop of *Lions*, who were in the Council Hall, rising up at the Noise, with intention of running to his aid, were made Prisoners by the Marshals *D' Aumont* and *de Retz*: At the same time the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was also seiz'd in the Castle, together with *Anne d' Este* Duchess of *Nemours*, and Mother of the *Guises*, and the Prince of *Joinville*, the Dukes of *Elbeuf*, and *Nemours*, *Brissac* and *Boisdauphin* with many other Lords, who were Confidents of the Duke, and *Pericard* his Secretary. And in the mean time the Grand Prevost of the King's House went with his Archers to the Chamber of the third Estate, in the Town-House, and there arrested the President *Neuilly*, the Prevost of Merchants, the Sheriffs *Compan* and *Cotte-Blanch*, who were Deputies for *Paris*, and some other notorious *Leaguers*.

This being done, the King himself brought the News of it to the Queen Mother, telling her that now he was a real King since he had cut off the Duke of *Guise*. At which that Princess being much surpris'd and

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mov'd, asking him if he had made provision against future accidents, he answer'd her in an angry kind of tone, much differing from his accusom'd manner of speaking to her, that she might set her heart at rest, for he had taken order for what might happen, and so went out furlily to go to Mass; yet before he went, he sent particularly to Cardinal *Gondi*, and to the Cardinal *Legat Morosini*, and inform'd them both of what had pass'd, with his reasons to justify his proceedings.

*Davila* the Historian reports, that before he went to Mass, the King met the *Legat*, and walking with him a long time, gave him all his reasons for that action, which he takes the pains to set down at large, as if he had been present at that long Conference, and that he had heard, (without loosing one single word;) all the King said to the Cardinal, together with the Cardinal's politique reflexions upon it, and his reply to the King's discourse. For he tells us, that the *Legat* fearing to lessen *Henry's* affection to the Holy See, assur'd him that the Pope as being

ing a common Father, wou'd listen favourably to his excuses, and withall exhorted him to make War against the *Huguenots*, that he might make demonstrations of his sincerity, and that it might be evident, he kill'd not the Duke of *Guise*, the great Enemy of the Heretiques, out of intention to favour the King of *Navarre* and that party.

He adds, that the King promis'd him, and confirm'd it with an Oath, that provided the Pope wou'd joyn with him he wou'd proceed to make War against them, with more eagerness than ever, and wou'd not suffer any other Religion but the *Roman Catholique* in his Kingdom. That after this solemn Protestation, the *Legat* judg'd it not expedient, to proceed any farther in the Conference, and that without saying any thing for the present in favour of the Prelates who were Prisoners, he continued to treat with him in the same manner he had us'd formerly: There are those also who are bold enough to affirm, that by the freedom of his action and carriage, while he was discoursing with

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the King, sometimes whispering to him, and sometimes laughing with him, it was believ'd that the King had done nothing without the consent and privity of the Pope: And they add with *Davila*, that this carriage of the Cardinal, gave the King encouragement to proceed yet farther, and to cause the Cardinal of *Guise* to be also slain; as observing that he made so light a matter of the imprisonment of Prelates.

You see these Authours have related with great seriousness and gravity, as an undoubted truth, the passages of this conference which they say was publicly beheld, in the Court of the Castle of *Blois*. Notwithstanding which, 'tis all a most manifest falsehood; and all that *Davila* has said in relation to it, is no better than one of those fictions which onely Poets have Authority to make. The proof of this amounts to no less than a demonstration, and leaves not a scruple remaining to be satisf'd. We have the Printed Memoires of Cardinal *Morosini's* Life, written in *Italian*, in an Elegant and Manly style, by *Monsieur Stephano Cosmi*, Archbishop of

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of *Spalato*; who did me the honour to send them to me from *Venice* more than three years since. And 'tis evident from the Letters of this Cardinal *Legat*, to Cardinal *Montalto*, Nephew of Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, to whom he gives a most exact account, of all the passages on the twenty third of *December*, and the following days, that whatsoever importunity he had us'd at the request of *Madam de Nemours*, to obtain an Audience of the King, on the morning of that day, the entrance even of the Castle was refus'd to him, notwithstanding that he us'd his utmost endeavours at the Gate to get admission, and that he cou'd never procure an Audience till the twenty sixth, which was three days after the Murther of the Cardinal. After this what will become of all those fine discouries, and all the particular circumstances of that pretended Conference in the Castle Court, on the twenty third? and of that easie and unconcern'd, or rather light behaviour of the Cardinal to the King, when he whisper'd in his Ear and laugh'd so heartily; which gave men occasion

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to believe, that according to his Orders from *Rome*, he was of intelligence with the King, who seeing him so merrily dispos'd, was resolv'd to prosecute his design yet farther, and to rid his hands of the Cardinal of *Guise*? What else is this, than to turn History into Romance; as on this very occasion two Protestant Writers have also done, I mean *d' Aubigné*, and the Authour of the Discourſe of that which paſſ'd at *Blois*, untill the death of the Duke of *Guise*? And our *Catholique* Historians who have follow'd their Authority, having ſuffer'd themselves to be impos'd on by those *Huguenots*, have consequently impos'd upon their Readers. There is so little appearance that the complaisant Discourses of the *Legat Morosini*, had given the King occasion to resolve on the death of the Cardinal *de Guise*, that you see on the contrary he refus'd to grant him an Audience, because he wou'd not hear what he cou'd urge in favour of that Cardinal, whose death already was determin'd.

In effect, that Cardinal grown desperate by reason of his Brother's death,  
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having utter'd in the first transports of his grief and fury, all that those passions cou'd possibly inspire into a man of his hot temper, in the most opprobrious and affronting terms he cou'd invent against the person of the King; that Prince thereby more incens'd than ever, and fearing all things from the revenge of his violent and haughty Soul, who was almost as formidable to him as his Brother, Swore he shou'd die for it. That which provok'd him more to hold this resolution, was the report which had been made to him, that the Cardinal had the impudence to say, that he shou'd not die, before he held the King's Head to be shav'd and made a Monk of him; for these are the very words of the King in his Letter of the 24th. of *December*, to the Marquis *Pisani*, his Ambassadour at *Rome*.

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Nevertheless, they had trouble enough to find out men, who wou'd undertake the Execution of this Order. Those of the 45 who had Ponyarded the Duke, refus'd in plain terms to embrue their hands in the bloud of a Cardinal, a Priest, and Archbishop  
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of *Rheims*. Yet at last they lighted on four Souldiers, who not having so much Honour as those Gentlemen, offer'd themselves to kill him for four hundred Crowns, which were promis'd them. So that after the wretched Cardinal was return'd by little and little from the extravagance of his Passion, and had pass'd the remainder of the day, and the greatest part of the night following in Prayers, with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, in a little Chamber where they confess'd themselves to each other, one came to tell him in the morning about ten of the Clock, that the King ask'd for him: then having recommended his Soul to God, and receiv'd yet once more the benediction of the Archbishop, who believing that he himself shou'd likewise die, exhorted him to receive his death with constancy of mind, and like a Christian, he went out, and perceiving the Souldiers who expected him in an obscure passage, he cover'd his Face with his Cloak, and leaning his Body against the Wall, suffer'd himself to be wounded, with strong thrusts of their Hallbards, without giving

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giving the least Groan or sigh, or even shaking in the least, till he fell down dead at the Feet of his inhumane Murderers. *Ann. 1588.*

His Body together with his Brother's, were put into the hands of a Chirurgeon, who consum'd the Flesh with unslak'd Lime, and then burn'd the Bones in a Chamber of the Castle, that they might not come into the possession of the *Leaguers*, who wou'd be sure to have us'd them, to inflame the people who were his Idolaters, and to have made reliques of them, to which they wou'd have paid the same Honours, as are given to the Bones of Martyrs. Thus perish'd in the middle of his course, one of the most illustrious men who ever liv'd; at the age of 42 years, *Henry of Lorrain*, Duke of *Guise*, who by the incomparable perfections of his Body, of his Mind, and of his Soul, which made him admir'd even by his Enemies, had merited all that Fortune seem'd to be preparing for him, had he not presum'd to have push'd it beyond the bounds, which the providence of God to whom it is subservient, had prescribed him.

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For in conclusion, the following events have made it evident, that the divine providence which disposes Sovereignly of Empires, had ordain'd to take away that of *France*, from the Family of *Valois*, and to transfer it to the House of *Bourbon*; and by consequence whatever was set up in opposition to this eternal Decree, must fall under it at last; neither Conspiracies, nor Leagues, nor Fortune, nor any power on Earth, being able to resist it.

In the mean time the violent death of those Princes, far from bringing those advantages to the King, which he had promis'd himself from it, and which his passion had represented to him through false optiques, as exceeding great and most assur'd, threw him headlong on the sudden into a more deplorable condition, than that which he thought he had escap'd. He well knew after he had consider'd, what he had done in cold Blood, that the Murther of the Cardinal of *Guise*, wou'd be extremely offensive to the Pope, and that it was necessary he shou'd endeavour to appease him, lest  
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he who carried all things with a high hand, and was not of a temper to endure the least affront to his Authority, shou'd declare himself for the *League* in opposition to him, which as yet he had not done: In consideration of which, he writ a Note to the *Legat* on *Christmas* day, in these very words which follow.

“ Now at last I am a King, and am  
“ resolv'd from henceforth, not to suffer my self to be affronted: I will  
“ give them to understand, and make  
“ them feel whosoever they are, who  
“ dare to attacque me, that I will always remain in this generous resolution, following therein the example  
“ of our Holy Father the Pope, whose  
“ common saying it is, that we must  
“ make our selves be obey'd, and punish those who injure us. And since  
“ I have accomplish'd my purpose according to this Maxim, to morrow  
“ I will see you. Farewell.

Accordingly on the twenty sixth of *December*, the *Legat* had a long Audience: wherein the King having inform'd him of the reasons which he had to kill the Duke and Cardinal,  
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took God to witness that he had debated within himself, and oppos'd his own Arguments with all manner of severity, for six days together; and during all that time, was firmly resolv'd not to have come to those extremities for fear of offending Almighty God. But at length considering that He who had made him a King, made it part of his duty to maintain himself in that Dignity, and that the Pope had sent him word by *Monsieur de Luxembourg*, and had often spoken to the same purpose to the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, that he ought to make himself be obey'd, and punish those who affronted him; he had accordingly resolv'd to prevent them, by taking their lives, rather than stay, till his own were taken by them: the design of which they had already laid. And if he had not proceeded by the ordinary forms of Justice, the reason was, that in the low condition to which they had reduc'd him, 'twas impossible to make use of Law.

To this the *Legat*, who had leisure in the mean time, to consider of what he ought to say, answer'd, without mentioning

mentioning the Duke of *Guise's* death, Ann. 1589. that he thought it his duty to advertise him, that supposing the Cardinal had been guilty, yet his Majesty in causing him to be put to death as he had done, had incurr'd the Censures, contain'd in the Bull, call'd *In Cæna Domini*; as much as those who had executed his Orders, and either counsell'd or approv'd that action. That therefore it was his duty to ask pardon, and absolution of his Sin from the Pope, who alone was able to give it him, and in the mean time he ought to abstain from entring into the Church.

The King, surpriz'd exceedingly at so brisk a declaration, answer'd him, that there was no Sovereign Prince, who was not endued with power, to punish his Ecclesiastical Subjects for crimes of High Treason, and more especially when his own Life was concern'd in them: for which reason, he believ'd not that he had incurr'd any manner of censure, principally considering that the Kings of *France* have the privilege to be exempted from excommunication. 'Tis certain that  
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he fail'd not on Newyears day to perform his Devotions, in ceremony with the Knights of the Order, and to communicate publicly in the Church of Saint *Sauveur*. And when the *Legat* had made complaint concerning it, he sent to him the *Sieur de Revol*, Secretary of State, who shew'd him a Breviat of the 21<sup>st</sup>. of *July*, in the year foregoing, by which the Pope permitted him to chuse what Confessour he pleas'd, and who in virtue of that Breviat, had power to absolve him from all manner of crimes, even the most enormous, from all those particular cases reserv'd to the Pope's own person, from all censures and Ecclesiastical punishments, even those which are contain'd in the Bull which is call'd *In Cænâ Domini*. And the Secretary added, that though the King by virtue of his Privileges had no need of that Breviat, in order to his frequenting the Sacraments, yet it was past all manner of dispute, that having it, he might communicate without either scruple or scandal, after having receiv'd Absolution from his Confessor. The *Legat* having nothing to reply

reply to this, said no more, and satisfi'd himself with the remonstrance which he had made.

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But Pope *Sixtus* stopt not there, for he was strangely transported against his *Legat* whom he accus'd of Cowardise, because that having seen a Cardinal Murther'd, he had not publish'd the censures against the King with the Interdictions, even though it shou'd have cost him (as he said) an hundred Lives. He testifi'd his resentment of it to the Marquis *de Pisany* the King's Ambassadour at *Rome*, with much sharpness, as also to Cardinal *de Joyeuse* Protectour of *France*, and yet more vehemently to the Sacred College in full Consistory, though the Cardinal *de Saint Croix* speaking to him immediately before, had told him, that having consulted the Books of the Doctours on this Subject, he had there read, that a King who had found a Cardinal plotting against his Estate, might cause him to be put to death, without either form or figure of Process, and that he had no need of absolution in such a case. The Pope was incens'd at this freedom which he took,

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and loudly protested, that he wou'd never grant any favour, nor wou'd suffer any consistorial Remission to be made, before the King had sent to beg Absolution, which yet shou'd not be granted him, till the whole business had been throughly examin'd in a Congregation of Cardinals, which he establish'd for that purpose.

The King was very willing, that the Pope if he so pleas'd, shou'd give him yet another absolution, which cou'd have done him no prejudice, though he believ'd it not to be necessary. But he wou'd by no means allow that it shou'd be juridically scann'd, whether he had the right of punishing his Subjects as he had done. Upon which, the Cardinal *de Joyeuse* made no scruple of remonstrating to the Pope, with all the respect which was due to his Holiness, that the best and most devout *Catholiques* of *France*, (they are his very words) held not for authentique the opinions which were receiv'd at *Rome*, in that which concerns not the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church, (in both which, there was no difference betwixt *Rome* and *France*) but that

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that in *France*, they held the Prerogatives or Rights of the King, to be much greater than they were thought at *Rome*, and they believ'd themselves, to stand on so sure Foundations for what they held, that they wou'd not depart from it on any considerations whatever. That in this particular Fact, the King wou'd not want most Zealous *Catholiques* to maintain, that not onely his Majesty, who has an especial privilege to stand exempted from Excommunication, but that also the meanest man can incur no censures for having done a thing which is of absolute necessity, for the preservation of his liberty, and of his Life. And that which way soever it be determin'd, yet his Majesty was absolv'd by the Authority of his Holiness himself, in virtue of the Breviat which he had granted him.

To which the Pope made no other reply than this, that it belong'd to him to interpret his own Breviat, and that it ought onely to be understood of crimes committed, before the Breviat was given, and not of those which were committed afterwards. But one

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of the most understanding Prelates of the *Roman* Court, had the confidence to make it appear, by a writing which was sent to the King, that this Bre-viat being conceiv'd as it was in general terms, without any restriction, extended as well to the future as to the past. In the meantime, the Pope as it were by immediate inspiration, changing his Humour on the sudden, began to tell the Cardinal, that he acknowledged the King had great provocations to doe what he had done; that God had suffer'd the Cardinal of *Guise* and the Duke his Brother, to die in that manner for their Sins; That the *League* had ruin'd the affairs of *France*, and even the *Catholique* Religion it self: That it was at no time lawfull to take up Arms against the will of the Sovereign, for it never succeeded happily: That he call'd that very Cardinal to witness what he had formerly told him concerning this, and that he had then prophesied what since had happen'd.

The Cardinal ravish'd with joy to hear the Pope speak after this manner, gave him his most humble acknowledgments,

ledgments, and earnestly besought him always to persist in so just an opinion, without suffering himself to be impos'd on, by the artifices of the *Spaniards* and the *Leaguers*. But when he perceiv'd that after all this fair discourse the Pope, according to the obstinacy of his temper which was never to be mov'd, when once he had fix'd his resolution, still continu'd to suspend all the expeditions, till the King had sent to desire absolution, he had the courage to tell him plainly, that this suspension which was prejudicial to the service of God, the salvation of Souls, and even to the authority of the Holy See, cou'd be laid to no other man's charge, but the whole burthen of it wou'd fall on the Conscience of his Holiness. And that all the evils which arise from the long vacancies of Churches, wou'd be imputed to him onely not to the King, who had done on his part what he ought, by naming (or presenting) men to Bishopricks and Abbies according to the *Concordat*, and that in mean time they who were thus presented to the Prelacy, had wherewithall to comfort

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themselves easily in their disgrace, by enjoying their *Oeconomats* a longer time, without putting themselves to the trouble of providing and sending to *Rome* so much money, for obtaining the Apostolical Provisions. And after all, it might well happen that the King, mov'd by the remonstrances of the *French* Clergy and even of the Estates themselves, which were still assembled at *Blois*, and also because his nominations were refus'd at *Rome*, might set all things again upon the Foundation of the ancient right, in which case there wou'd be no more trudging from *France* to *Rome*, but onely for the confirmation of three or four primacies, and those too to be expedited *gratis*.

In fine, this prudent and honest Cardinal, concluded his long dispatches by the advice he gave the King, that according to the opinion of the wisest men, and those who meant him best, the longer he delaid to send, or write to his Holiness, in case either of them were his intention, the more satisfaction he shou'd receive, provided that his affairs prosper'd at home.

home. For added he, your Majesty Ann. 1588.  
has nothing more to hope or fear, but  
onely from your own management,  
and you are to expect that as matters  
go well or ill in *France*, you shall be  
treated here accordingly. So that to  
know how you stand in grace at *Rome*,  
you will have no need to be inform'd,  
by your Ambassadors dispatches or  
by mine, you will find the truest In-  
telligence from day to day by your  
own success.

The event verifi'd his prediction,  
for some time after *Sixtus* perceiving  
that the *League* grew exceeding pow-  
erfull, and the King much weaker  
by the Revolt of the greatest part of  
*France*, caus'd a thundering Monitory  
to be posted up at *Rome* against him,  
in which he declares at the first dash,  
that the King had incurr'd the Excom-  
munication provided by the Canons,  
for the Murther committed on the  
person of a Cardinal.

The death of the Duke of *Guise*,  
was yet more ruinous to his affairs,  
and produc'd an effect quite contrary  
to what he had expected from it. He  
believ'd, that having cut off the Head

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of the *League*, it wou'd thenceforth be no more than a body without life or motion, and that he shou'd then be absolute Master and truly a King, as he had us'd to say. But it was not long before he found how much he had deceiv'd himself. His supposition may come to pass, when a faction is weak in its beginning, and that they who are enter'd into it are irresolute, wavering betwixt their first fury, which has hurri'd them into a Rebellion, and their fear of a Master justly incens'd against them, whom they also see well arm'd, and in condition to take Vengeance on them, as well as on their Head, in case they prove obstinate in their revolt. But here all things were in a contrary posture; the *League* had taken root so deeply in the peoples Hearts, that there was no probability it shou'd be torn out, at one single pull: and the faction was too strongly supported both within the Kingdom and without it, to beget a reasonable hope that it wou'd easily be destroy'd. On the other side, that love and respect, which the *French* have naturally for their Kings, was almost

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most wholly extinguish'd in the greater part of them, in reference to *Henry* the third, who was equally hated both by *Huguenots* and *Leaguers*, and so very much despis'd, especially by the last, that he was not fear'd by any one.

Thus instead of arming himself as he ought in reason to have done, after so terrible a blow as he had given, and advancing towards *Paris*, with all the Forces he either had in readiness, or cou'd raise immediately, without giving leisure to the *Leaguers* to recover from their first amazement, and to provide themselves of a new Head against him, He trill'd away his time according to his custome, in making specious Declarations, and writing fine Letters which he sent far and near, wherein amongst other things which he alledg'd for his justification, he said (what no body then believ'd, and what the Duke of *Mayenne* positively denied to the Cardinal *Legat*,) that he had receiv'd from that Duke, and from the Dutchess of *Aumale*, a most certain information of the Conspiracy which the two Brothers had contriv'd against



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against his person. Doubtless he was ignorant that having done an action of this nature, a King can never justify it better, than with his Arms in his hand, and by putting himself into a condition of forcing the vanquish'd to approve his reasons.

And truly by making such an insignificant and verbal Apology, so inconsistent with the greatness of a King, he brought his matters to that pass, that he was neither believed by his own Subjects, nor by Foreigners. And was so unfortunate, that not only the *Leaguers* but even the *Huguenots* themselves, and principally the Gentlemen amongst them condemn'd his action in most reproachfull Language, and thought it contrary to the *Genius* of the *French* Nation. In the mean time he was much surpriz'd, that while he was losing his time in writing and continuing the Estates, which he held on till three weeks after the execution, he heard the news that *Orleans* was revolted against him; that the Duke of *Mayenne*, (who was advertis'd at *Lyons* of the death of his Brothers before *Alphonso d'Ornano*,

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*d'Ornano*, who had been sent either to make him Prisoner, or to kill him, cou'd arrive there,) had refug'd himself in his Government of *Burgundy*, where he was Master of almost all the Towns; and especially that *Paris* had reinflam'd the *League* with more ardour than before to revenge the death of the two Brothers.

There is nothing more prodigiously strange in all this History, than the transactions in that great City, when they heard the news of this amazing accident. The Sixteen, who had it first, even before the Parliament had notice of it, (so great was the negligence of the Court) commanded immediately on *Christmas-Evening*, that they shou'd stand to their Arms in all the Wards, secur'd all the strong places, plac'd *Corps de Garde* upon the Bridges, and in the Squares, and put Souldiers into the Houses of the *Politiques*, for by that name they call'd suspected persons, that is to say, all those who were not carried away by the Torrent of so hot-brain'd and furious a Faction. Afterwards finding themselves absolute Masters of *Paris*,  
where

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where the People being inrag'd almost to madness for the murder of the Duke of *Gnise*, were one and all for a Revolt, they held a General Assembly at the Town-house, where notwithstanding the opposition which was made by *Achilles de Harlay*, the first President, who was in danger of his life on that occasion, they elected the Duke of *Aumale* their Governour, and made amongst themselves a more strict Union than ever, for defence, as they gave out, of their Lives and Liberties, and of the *Catholique* Religion. In this manner they disguis'd Rebellion under a specious name; which their Preachers, and the Doctours of the *League* baul'd out, and thunder'd through all *Paris*.

For the Preachers, of whom the most furious were *Pelletier Boucher*, *Guincestre*, *Pigenat*, and *Aubry* the Curats, Father *Bernard de Montgalliard*, surnam'd the *Petit Feuillant*, and the famous *Cordelier Feu Ardent*, Preaching in the Parishes of *Paris*, during the *Christmas* Holidays, chang'd their Sermons into Satyrs against the Sacred person of the King, and describ'd so movingly

movingly the Tragical death of the two Brothers, whom they lifted up to the Skies as Martyrs, that they melted their Audience into tears, and nothing but sighs and groans were heard in their well-fill'd Congregations. And instead of proposing to them the example of St. *Stephen*, they inspir'd into them the desire of vengeance. Insomuch that even they who were not dispos'd to sob and cry, and who were even scandaliz'd at this manner of behaviour, which was so unworthy of the holy Ministry of the Gospel, were constrain'd to act their parts, and squeeze out tears for fear of being murther'd, if they had not wept for company.

'Tis certain that when *Guincestre* who had Preach'd the *Advent* at St. *Bartholomews*, had said in one of his Sermons, (after a terrible Declamation against the King, and lamentation for the Duke of *Guise*,) that it behov'd his Auditors to lift up their hands, every man of them, in token that they wou'd revenge his death, and live and die in the Holy Covenant, which was now renewed, the whole Congregation

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on immediately obey'd him, excepting onely the first President, who that day which was the first of the Year 1589, was present at the Sermon in his Parish Church, seated overagainst the Preacher. Then that *Enthusiastique* Zealot had the impudence to say to him, Lift up your hand too like the rest, you *Monsieur* the first President. The *Leaguers* had caus'd a report to be spread, that this excellent Magistrate, who was known to be a Loyal Servant to the King, was one of those who advis'd the death of the Duke of *Guise*; for which reason he was of necessity to obey, lest otherwise he shou'd indiscreetly expose himself to the fury of the multitude, who in case he had refus'd, had absolutely believ'd the lye which was forg'd against him, and consequently had torn him piecemeal: He therefore lifted up his hand, but to no great height, as an action that was forc'd from him; upon which that impudent covenanting Preacher, had the insolence to bid him lift it higher, that the whole Congregation might be satisfi'd, he was under the same obligation with the rest.

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The Curat of St. Nicholas in the fields, *Francis Pigenat*, was yet more audacious and more impious, than his brother in iniquity. For, making the Funeral Oration for the Duke of *Guise*, in the Parish of St. *Jean en Greve*, (as it was made in all the Parishes of *Paris* and even at the Cathedral of *Noſtre Dame*, with more than Royal pomp and Ceremonies,) he roſe to that exceſs of fury, as to aſk of his Auditors, if they cou'd not find one brave Spirit amongſt them all, who wou'd undertake to revenge the Duke's murther, by killing the Tyrant? And more to enrage the People, he ſpoke in the perſon of the Dutcheſs Dowager to the late Duke, who was then big with Child and ready to lie down, and made her pronounce thoſe terrible imprecations of *Virgil's Dido*; thus imitated by him.

*Exoriare aliquis, noſtris ex offibus  
Ultor,  
Qui face Valesios, ferroque ſequare Ty-  
rannos.*

*Ariſt*

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*Arise some offspring of my murther'd  
Lord ;*

*Revenge him on Valois with Fire and  
Sword.*

These Seditious Preachments occasion'd infinite disorders : but the mortal stroke was given by the scandalous Decree which the Doctors made, who being blinded with that furious passion, which possess'd the *League*, and they leading the blind multitude, brought them to tumble headlong with themselves, into that frightfull gulf of crimes and of misfortunes. The body of the Town which was compos'd of *Leaguers*, to authorize that horrible revolt which they design'd, was of opinion to propose to the College of *Sorbonne*, not onely by a verbal request, but by an Authentique Act, which was sign'd by the Magistrate, and Seal'd with the Town Seal, these two important cases of Conscience ; the one was, *Whether the French were effecttively discharg'd from the Oath of Allegiance and Faith, which they had made to the King ?* the other, *Whether in Conscience they might*  
Arm,

*Arm, and unite themselves, and whether in order to it, they might raise Money and Contributions for the defence and preservation of the Catholique, Apostolique and Roman Religion in France, in opposition to the detestable designs and endeavours of the King and all his Adherents, since he had violated the publique Faith at Blois, in prejudice of the Catholique Religion, the Edict of the Holy Union, and the natural liberty of the Estates ?* On which occasion, the Faculty assembling on the Seventh of January, to the number of Seventy Doctors, after a solemn Procession, and a Mass of the Holy Ghost, concluded for the affirmative, on both the points by a common consent, without so much as the opposition of one man ; (as the Decree it self informs us,) and that this resolution shou'd be sent to the Pope, to the end he might approve and confirm it by his Authority, desiring that he wou'd have the goodness to succour the Gallicane Church, which suffer'd under great oppressions.

To confess the truth, this Decree gave great scandal ; and the *Huguenots*

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who were not wanting to report it word for word, and to make an *Examen* of it in their Writings, drew a great advantage from it, to insult over our Divines, of whom they had reason to say that both their Doctrine and their Morals in this respect, are directly opposite to the word of God, which reaches us the quite contrary. But 'tis easie to answer them, by letting them know, what is most true, namely that this Decree was pass'd by a faction of seditious Doctours; *Boucher, Prevost, Aubry, Bourgoïn, Pelletier*, and seven or eight old Doctors, who were violent *Leaguers*, and also of the Council of Sixteen, drew after them by their Cabals, and by their inveterate malice, fifty or threescore Doctors, the greatest part of whom were those young, hot-headed, and turbulent fellows whom we have already mention'd; and the rest, in fear of their lives, if they shou'd dare to oppose them, assented onely upon compulsion to this Decree, which the *Sorbonne* it self, at all times when it was free, has held abominable, and which Doctor *John Le Fevre*, at that time Dean of the Faculty,

Faculty, resisted what he cou'd, without gaining any thing upon that wretched faction, which constrain'd him at last inspight of his opposition, to Subscribe it with them.

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In like manner the King, who complain'd extremely of this proceeding, having Assembled at *Blois* twenty Bishops and twelve Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, who were of the number of the Deputies, when that Decree was read to them, they all concluded without the least hesitation, that it was execrable, and cou'd never have pass'd without compulsion, and for safeguard of their lives from the rage and fury of the *Parisian Leaguers*.

In the meantime it must be acknowledged, in what manner soever it were gain'd, yet being of the *Sorbonne*, whose name and authority were had in singular veneration through all *Europe*, and particularly in *France*, that Decree was the Trumpet to the general Revolt, which was made in *Paris*, and from thence in a short time after extended itself through the greatest part of all the Cities in the Kingdom. For as soon as it was publish'd

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in that great Town, by the most furious and giddy-brain'd Preachers of the *League*, who exalted it to the People in their declamatory style, they ran on the sudden into such horrible extremes, and such transports of rage, so contrary to the duty of Subjects to their lawfull Sovereign, that though our Writers have made them publique, yet I believe it more decent to suppress them, than to profane my History by a Relation, which would render it unpleasant, and even odious.

I shall onely say, that at the same time when by virtue of this damnable Decree, they bereft him of the title of King, leaving him onely the bare name of *Henry de Valois*, they heap'd upon him all sorts of outrages and villanies, which the impotent fury of the Rabble cou'd produce. They vented their rage against him in Satyrs, Lampoons, and Libels, infamous Reports and Calumnies, and those too in the fowlest terms, of which the most moderate were Tyrant and Apostate. And that they might not be wanting to discharge their fury in the most brutal manner

manner they cou'd invent; they extended it event to his Arms, his Statues and his Pictures, which they tore in pieces, or trampled under their feet, or dragg'd about the Streets, through the mire and dirt, or burn'd them, or cast them into the River, with a volee of curses and imprecations against him; in the mean adoring the Duke of *Guise*, and his Brother the Cardinal, as Martyrs, and placing their Images upon Altars. At last this blind fury went so far, that after the Decree, the Curats and Confessours of the Faction of Sixteen abusing the power which was given them by their Sacred Ministry, of binding and loosing, refus'd Absolution to those who acknowledg'd to them in Confession, that their Conscience wou'd not suffer them to renounce *Henry* the third their lawfull King.

This impious practice, was the first effect that was produc'd by the Decree of the Faculty, the news of which was receiv'd by the King with much sadness, at the same time when he was busied in paying his last duties to the Queen his Mother, who deceas'd at the

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Castle of *Blois*, on the fifth of *January*, in the seventy second year of her age, whether it were out of melancholy for the death of the *Guises*, which was upbraided to her by the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, or of a Hectique Fever, or a false *Pleurisie*. Certain it is, that there was no mean or moderation us'd either in praise or dispraise of that Princess; who indeed has afforded sufficient matter to Historians, to speak both good and ill of her, and either of them in excess. Both the one and the other are easie to be discern'd, by what I have related of her in this History, and in that of *Calvinism*. I shall onely add this last touching, to finish her picture, that it cannot be deni'd but that she was endued with great perfections of mind and body; a carriage extremely Majestical, a certain air of Greatness and Authority, worthy of her high Estate, her Behaviour noble and engaging, her Wit polite, her Apprehension prompt, her Judgment piercing, a great talent for Business and Treaties, and a singular address of managing and turning others to her own bent; a Royal Magnificence, Constancy and Fortitude

tude of mind, extraordinary in her Sex, a masculine courage and greatness of Soul, which naturally carri'd her to the highest undertakings: In one word, she might have pass'd for a Heroine, if so many illustrious qualities had not been blasted by great vices, which appear'd so openly in all her conduct, that History neither ought, nor is able to dissemble them.

For it was but too apparent, for her honour, what prodigality, what luxury, what shamefull dissoluteness she permitted in her Court; and which she her self made use of for gaining such whom she desir'd to engage in her interests. Add to this her want of sincerity and faith in her promises, the too much credit she gave to Astrologers and Fortune-tellers, whom she consulted in reference to the future, and above all her immoderate and vast ambition, on the account of which, and out of her insatiable desire of being always absolute, she made no scruple to sacrifice the interests of the State and of Religion, both which she had almost ruin'd, by wavering betwixt the *Huguenots* and *Catholiques*, some-

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times seeming to be on one side, sometimes on the other, according as this or that Religion appear'd most conducing to her designs. In fine, to conclude her character, by what relates to the essential part of this History, the hatred which she bore to the King of *Navarre* her Son-in-law, and the love which she had to her Grand-son of *Lorain*, caus'd her underhand to favour the *League*, of which nevertheless she was the gull, and was couzen'd by those whom she intended to deceive. For she had this misfortune which commonly happens to those who wou'd manage two contrary Factions, and poize themselves Trimmer-like betwixt them, that she was in a manner equally hated both by the *Catholiques* and *Protestants*.

Such was this Princess, whose good and ill qualities were in extremes. Yet happy both in relation to God and man. For she di'd at a time, when the World believ'd her life wou'd be profitable and indeed necessary for the King, to draw him out of that Labyrinth of confusions wherein he was entangl'd ;

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entangl'd ; and also because she di'd Ann. 1589.  
with all the serenity of a good Christian, having first receiv'd the Sacraments with much devotion, though the *Huguenot* Historians, who naturally hated her, have written to the contrary. And because she was not less abhorr'd by the *Leaguers* of *Paris*, (who believ'd she had a share in the death of the *Guises*, as others also have thought therein following the relation, which was written by *Miron* the Physician,) they said publicly that if her Body shou'd be brought to *Paris* to be laid in the magnificent Tomb which she had built at *St. Denis*, for her self and King *Henry* the Second her Husband, they wou'd certainly throw it into the *Seine*.

In the meantime the King who was still of opinion that they might be reduc'd to their obedience by the ways of clemency and mildness, sent thither the Dutchess of *Nemours*, mother of the *Guises* and of the young Duke of *Nemours*, their Brother by the Mothers side, who had made his escape, not long after he had been imprison'd by the King. That Princess who was  
very



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very prudent, preferring the benefits of Peace before the unprofitable revenge of her Childrens death, had begun to treat by Letter with the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Mayenne*, her two remaining Sons, endeavouring to reduce them by gentle means, and offering them all the advantages and all the security which they possibly cou'd wish: which gave the King occasion to believe, that in the end she might conquer their resentments, and appease the commotions in *Paris*. He was willing also that she shou'd be accompan'd by the Sheriffs *Compan* and *Cotteblanche*; who promis'd him to use their best endeavours to that effect; or to return to Prison in *Blois*, if they succeeded not in their negotiation; and at the same time sent his express order to the Parliament to inroll the Declaration which he had publish'd immediately after the execution at *Blois*.

The Dutches was receiv'd at *Paris* with great honour, and incredible joy of the people; who paid their veneration to her, as to the Mother of two Holy Martyrs. And the *Petit Feuillant* Preaching one day before her, flew

flew out into so high a transport, that turning himself towards her, he made an *Apostrophé* to the late Duke of *Guise* in these words; O Holy and Glorious Martyr of God, blessed is the Womb that bore thee, and the Breasts that gave thee suck. But after all she succeeded not in her negotiation. The two Sheriffs forswore themselves, and joyn'd with the Factious, according to their former practice: And upon the request (the original of which is kept in the Library of *Monsieur Colbert*, and which I have seen sign'd by forty eight of the principal Citizens,) a prohibition was made them to return to *Blou*; and the Oath which they had taken, was declar'd Null, by an order of the New Parliament, which the *Leaguers* set up, after they had broken the old one, by one of the most Horrible Encroachments, which was ever made upon the Royal Authority.

For the Duke of *Aumale*, and the Council of Sixteen, having that August Body in suspicion, the Principal Members of which, were Loyally devoted to the King's service, resolv'd

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resolv'd to take them into custody, and all the other Officers whom they distrusted. *Jean Le Clerc*, otherwise call'd *Bussy*, heretofore a *Procureur* in Parliament, one of the most heady and impudent fellows that ever breath'd, and whom the Duke of *Guise*, well knowing him to be a desperate *Leaguer*, had made Governour of the *Bastille*, demanded and obtain'd that Commission; which he executed on the sixteenth of *January*. For in the Morning possessing himself of the Palace-Gates, he enter'd, arm'd *Cap a pie*, into the great Chamber at eight of the Clock, where the Parliament was assembled, and told them, that the good *Catholiques* of *Paris* had given him in charge to present them a Request. Afterwards having put it into the hands of one of the Members, he retir'd to the *Parquet des Huissiers* where his men waited for him. The Request was this in substance, That it wou'd please that Court to unite it self with the *Prevost* of *Merchants*, the Sheriffs, and the good Citizens of *Paris*, for the defence of Religion, and of the Town. That in conformity to the

the Decree of the *Sorbonne*, it wou'd declare that the *French* were discharg'd from their Oath of Allegiance and Obedience to the King, and that they wou'd use his name no more in their Orders.

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This was the way which that Villain took, to lay hold of an occasion, which he knew wou'd be specious and popular, under the shadow of which he might use the Parliament as afterwards he did; for he knew full well, that they wou'd never confirm a Decree so impious as was that of the *Sorbonne*. This is a passage which all of our Historians have omitted, and which I learn'd from the Manuscript Journal which the famous *M. Anthony Loyse*, an Advocate in Parliament, who was then at *Paris*, left to his Children for their instruction. It was nobly communicated to me by *Monsieur Joly* his Grandson, Chanter of the Church of *Nostre Dame*, a man commendable for his Integrity and Learning, and to whom the Chapter of the Metropolitane of *Paris* is much acknowledging, for his rare Library which he has bestow'd on it. This, then,

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then, was the snare which *Bussy Le Clerc* laid for the Parliament, thereby to pick an occasion of treating them with the most unworthy usage which they cou'd possibly receive.

For without expecting an answer to his insolent request, finding that they debated it much longer than he thought fitting, he return'd into the great Chamber, with his Sword in his hand, follow'd by five and twenty or thirty men arm'd Breast and Back, and with Pistols; and after having told them at the first, that the business was delay'd too long, and that it was well known, that there were those amongst them who betray'd the Town, and held correspondence with *Henry de Valois*, he added, that he had order to secure them; and commanded with an imperious voice, that they whom he shou'd name, shou'd immediately follow him, if they had a mind to avoid worse usage. At which, when looking over his list, he had nam'd the first President *Achilles de Harlay*, the Presidents *de Blanc Mesnil Potier*, *de Thon*, and the most ancient Counsellours, all the rest rose up, as by common

common consent, protesting that they wou'd not abandon their Head; whom they follow'd to the number of about threescore, of all the Chambers, walking two and two after *Bussy Le Clerc*, who led them as it were in triumph through an infinite multitude of people to the *Bastille*; where those of them onely were imprison'd who were known to be inviolably faithfull to the King's service.

The most considerable of them in desert as well as dignity, was the great *Achilles de Harlay*, whom to name is to commend; a Magistrate every way accomplish'd, and of that illustrious house, which having for four hundred years together signaliz'd it self in Arms, has since added to that glory all that can be acquir'd by the highest preferments of the long Robe, and of the Church.

I shou'd be ungratefull to their memory, if I did not justice to the merit of those Senatours, who follow'd their Head; and if I made not their names known to posterity which are not found in our Historians, but which I have collected from the forementioned  
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Manuscripts of *Monsieur Loyſel* the Advocate, who knew them all. Besides the Presidents already nam'd, the Counsellours who were imprison'd in the *Bastille* with them, were *Chartier*, *Spifame*, *Malvault*, *Perrot*, *Fleury*, *Le Viry*, *Molé*, *Scarron*, *Gayant*, *Ame-lot*, *Jourdain*, *Forget*, *Herivaux*, *Tour-nebu*, *Du Puy*, *Gillot*, *de Mouſſy*, *Pinney*, *Godard*, *Fortin*, *Le Meneur*, and the *Sieur Denis de Here*.

This last was a man of Wit, and of Quality, one of the most resolute of the whole Company; who from a warm *Leaguer*, (as formerly he had been, out of an ill guided Zeal,) was now become a great servant of the King; having discovered at last the pernicious designs of the *League*; of whose extraordinary merit *Henry* the Fourth, after his conversion, made great account. Insomuch that he had the credit to get his name struck out of the *Catholicon*, in which the Author of that witty Satyr, had plac'd it but little to his advantage. For whereas in the first Edition, of the year 1594. *Machaut* and *Here* were nam'd as great sticklers for the *League*;  
in

in all the rest of the Editions we find *Machaut* and *Baston*. That hot-headed *Baston*, who was so furious a *Leaguer*, that he sign'd the Covenant with his own blood drawn from his hand, which remain'd lame after it; and who, after *Paris* was reduc'd to the King's service, chose rather to go out of it with the *Spaniards* and retire to *Flanders*, where he did sterv'd, than to stay in *France*, and live at his ease under the Government of his lawfull King. Thus you have the names of those Loyal MEN WORTHY of the Parliament, who were clapt up in the *Bastille* with their first President.

There were others of them whose names I cou'd not recover, but who well deserve to be known, and had in veneration by the world. The rest of them whether they turn'd *Leaguers* for company, or seem'd to turn for fear of Death, or that by such their dissimulation, they thought they might put themselves in a way of doing the King some considerable service, having engag'd to be faithfull to that party, were left at their liberty, and

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continued in their stations, with the President *Briffon*, who from the next morning began to sit and take the Chair as Head of the new Parliament of the *League*, with which it was believ'd he held correspondence, on purpose to procure himself this new dignity. An action much unworthy of a man who had so high a reputation for his rare learning, who ought rather to have lost his life, than to have so basely abandon'd his King, and to have made himself a Slave to the passions of his mortal Enemies, under pretence that all he did was onely to shelter himself from the violence of the Faction, as he privately protested. But so it is, that the greatest Clerks are not always the wisest Men; and that good sense accompanied with constancy of mind, and an unshaken fidelity in our duty, is incomparably more usefull to the Service of God and of the State, than all the knowledge of Books and Learning of Colleges, huddled together in a Soul without integrity and resolution.

And truly, it manifestly appear'd, that all these good qualities were wanting

ting to this pretended Parliament, at that time; for about nine or ten days after that action, all the Members of it, to the number of an hundred and twenty, (comprehending in that account the Princes and the Prelates,) swore upon the Crucifix, that they wou'd never depart from their *League*, and that they wou'd prosecute by all manner of ways their revenge for the death of the two *Guises*; against all those who were either Authours of it, or accomplices in it. This protestation which was dispatch'd away to all the Towns that held for the party of the *League*, increas'd the fury of the people, who every day grew worse and worse, even to that degree, that some of them by an abominable mixture of Sacrilege, Paricide, and Magical Enchantments, made Images of Wax resembling the King, which they plac'd upon the Altars, and prick'd them in divers parts, pronouncing certain Diabolical words at every one of the forty Masses which they caus'd to be said in many Churches, to make their charms more powerfull; and at the fortieth, they pierc'd the image to the

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heart,

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heart, as intending thereby to give their King the stroke of death.

And in the mean time their *Bedlam Guineestre* shewing in the midst of his Sermon, certain little Silver Candlesticks made an hundred years before, and curiously cast into the shape of Satyrs, carrying Flambeaus, which had been found amongst the rich ornaments of the *Capuchins* Oratory, and the *Minimes* of the *Bois de Vincennes* lately plunder'd by the Rabble, accus'd the King himself of Sorcery, saying, that those were the Idols, and the figures of those Devils to which *Henry de Valois* was accusom'd to Sacrifice, in his retirement to *Bois de Vincennes*; and that they had commanded him to murder the Duke of *Guise*, the Protector of their Faith. But that which gave the mortal blow to the Royal Authority, and settled the Revolt in Absolute power, by giving it a kind of regular form of a popular Government, or rather of an Aristocracy, against the fundamental law of the *French* Monarchy, was the arrival of the Duke of *Mayenne*.

'Tis

'Tis true that Prince was not en-  
dued with all those great and Heroique  
qualities, which rais'd the admiration  
of the World in the person of his elder  
brother the late Duke of *Guise* : but if  
we consider him in himself, and with-  
out comparing him to the former,  
whose merit being incomparably greater,  
and his actions more glorious, wou'd  
certainly obscure him, it must be said,  
if we will do him right, that he had as  
much spirit, as much courage, wisdom,  
moderation, sincerity and probity, as  
was necessary for him, to maintain an  
honourable place amongst the great men  
of his time : but not so much resolution,  
constancy, greatness of Soul, vigour,  
activity and good fortune, as he ought  
to have had for the sustaining of so  
powerfull a party as that, which he  
took upon himself to Head, in opposition  
to two Kings.

On the one side he was strongly  
solicited by the Council of Sixteen,  
and by the Dutchess of *Montpensier*  
his Sister, to come and take the place  
of his dead Brother, and to put himself  
at the head of those, who were all

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in a readines to obey his orders, and to give up themselves to his command: and on the other side he had receiv'd the King's Letters, which assur'd him in most obliging terms, that being as fully perswaded of his innocence, as he was convinc'd of his Brother's crimes, he was ready to give him all the part he cou'd desire both in his favour, and his bounty; provided that he still continu'd in that obedience and fidelity, which he ow'd him.

But the extreme grief he had conceiv'd, for the cruel treatment of his Brothers, after so many promises, and such solemn protestations, that all past actions shou'd be forgotten, the obligation, which he thought his honour impos'd on him to revenge their death; and more than all, the distrust he had of the King, which was insuperable in him, whole fair words he took for no security, after so horrible an action, made him at last resolve to take up Arms, though he was not naturally inclin'd to rashness, and to precipitate himself blindfold, into such an Abyss of hazards and confusions, as are inseparable from Civil Wars. He thought he shou'd

shou'd find much less security in the King's word and honour, than in fortune, unconstant and variable as she is; and that he ran not so much hazard in declaring himself openly his Enemy, as in trusting to his Promises and Oaths. So that at the first, it was neither hatred, nor ambition, but onely distrust, which hurri'd him as it were by force into the Civil Wars; and he had never expos'd himself to so manifest a danger of being ruin'd, but that he imagin'd that by not hazarding himself, he had been ruin'd.

In the mean time, the beginning of his unhappy Enterprize, was exceeding prosperous: He march'd from *Dijon*, with many Troups, which he had drawn out of his Government of *Bourgogne*, and of *Champaign*, which declar'd generally for the *League*, excepting onely *Chaâlons*, the Magistrates of which place having receiv'd information of the Duke of *Guise's* death before the *Sieur de Rone*, whom that Duke had there establish'd Governor, constrain'd him immediately to depart out of it: And as a River swells and enlarges its chanel, the farther

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it flows from its Spring, and the nearer it approaches to the Sea ; so the Forces of this new Head of the *League* increas'd on his march, by the concurrence of those whom his own reputation, the memory of the late Duke his Brother, the common hatred to the King, the example of *Paris*, the false Zeal of Religion, and above all, the Interest and desire which many had to make their advantage of these troubles, drew to him in all the Countries through which he pass'd ; and all the Towns, as it were in Emulation of each other, open'd their Gates for his reception.

He was receiv'd at *Troyes*, with the same Honours which are peculiar to Kings ; and he acted there as a Sovereign Prince ; from thence sending out his Commissions to the Creatures of the Duke of *Guise*, and especially to *Rosne* and *St. Paul*, to whom he expedited his Orders for them to command in *Champaign* and *Brye*. He possess'd himself of *Sens*, to which place those of his party invited him. All things bent under his Authority wheretoever he pass'd. He enter'd  
like

like a Conquerour into *Orleans* ; where the same alone of his coming, constrain'd the Royalists to surrender the Cittadel to the Townsmen who besieg'd it. He made himself Master of *Chartres* by the intelligence which he held there : where the people changing on the sudden, as it were by Enchantment, were become quite another sort of creatures than they were formerly, when the King retir'd thither after the Barricades, and where they receiv'd him with wonderfull acclamations.

Thus cover'd with glory, and now becoming much more haughty than his nature seem'd to allow, by reason of so many prosperous events, which appear'd like good Omens of the future, he enter'd on the twelfth of *February* into *Paris*, where as if the Duke of *Guise* had been rais'd from the dead in his person, there was a loose given to all publique demonstrations of joy, with so much transport and excess, that they proceeded so far as even to expose his Picture Crown'd, and to erect a Royal Throne for him ; and if he had had ambition and boldness




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ness enough to have accepted it, he had found perhaps enow to have acknowledg'd him, that they might have held under him those Governments which he cou'd have given them, with the titles of Dutchies, and Counties in homage, as *Hugh Capet* had given him the example. But whether it were, that he durst not attempt it out of fear, or wou'd not out of prudence, as foreseeing in it insuperable difficulties, which by his endeavouring to have risen higher, had throw'd him down from the steep of the Precipice; certain it is, that by refusing to accept that honour, which yet in the sequel he desir'd not any other shou'd possess, he sav'd the State, and besides his present intention, or rather against it, preserv'd the Crown to the King of *Navarre* who was the rightfull presumptive Heir of it.

He satisfi'd himself then, with establishing his own authority in the first place; and with rendring himself more powerfull than the Council of the *League*, compos'd of those famous forty, amongst which, were the most seditious Mutineers of the whole party, who,

who, whatsoever protestation they made to obey him, had carri'd all matters in Council against him, and had not fail'd, whensoever it had pleas'd them, to have given the Law to him. To this effect he weaken'd that Council by augmenting it to a greater number of the most qualifi'd of the party, on whom he knew he might safely rely, as being of his own Election. For under pretence that it was necessary, that this Assembly, which ought to be the General Council of the Union, shou'd be enlarg'd, and be authoriz'd by the whole Party, he caus'd an Order to be pass'd, that all the Princes might assist in it, whensoever they pleas'd, and that all the Bishops, the Presidents, the Procureurs, and the Advocates General of Parliaments, fifteen Counsellors whom he nam'd, the Prevost of Merchants, the Sheriffs, the Town Solicitor, and the Deputies of the three Orders of all the Provinces of the *League*, shou'd have places in it, and deliberative Votes.

Thus being always the strongest in that Assembly, by the great number of voices, which were for him, he caus'd what-

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whatsoever he pleas'd to pass, in spight of the Sixteen; and procur'd an authority to himself, near approaching to the Sovereign Power of a King. For the first thing which was order'd in this new Council, was that in sign of this absolute Dominion, which either they suffer'd him to take, or they gave him, he shou'd have from thenceforth, till the holding of the Estates, the most extraordinary and unexampled quality of Lieutenant General, not of the King, for the *League* acknowledg'd none at that time, but of the Estate, and Crown of *France*. As if he who commands and governs cou'd represent a Kingdom, and hold, in quality of Lieutenant, the place of an Estate, which is not that which governs, but what is, or ought to be govern'd.

Notwithstanding which, he took his Oath for that new fantastique dignity, on the thirteenth of *March* in the Parliament, which verifi'd the Letters Patents of it, under the new Seals, made instead of those of the King, which were broken by them. And, to begin the Exercise of his Office by an act of Sovereignty, he caus'd immediately

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mediately to be publish'd his new <sup>Ann. 1589.</sup>  
Laws, contain'd in one and twenty  
Articles, for the uniting under one  
form of Government, all the Towns  
which were enter'd into the *League*;  
and those which in process of time  
shou'd enter, the number of which in  
a short space grew very great. For,  
there is nothing more surprising, than  
to see with what rapidity that torrent  
of Rebellion spreading from the Capi-  
tal City into the Provinces, drew a-  
long with it the greatest Towns,  
which under pretence of revenging  
the death of the pretended Patrons of  
the Faith, and of preserving Religion,  
associated themselves against God's A-  
nointed, either to make themselves a  
new Master, or to have none at all.

Almost all the Towns of *Burgundy*,  
of *Champaign*, of *Picardy*, and of the  
Isle of *France*, the greater part of  
those of *Normandy*, *Mayne*, *Bretagne*,  
*Anjou*, *Auvergne*, *Dauphine*, *Pro-  
vence*, *Berry*, and the greatest Cities  
of the Kingdom next to *Paris*, as *Rouen*,  
*Lyons*, *Tholouse*, and *Poitiers*, had  
put themselves under the protection  
of the *Union*, and were members of  
it,

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it, before the end of *March*, and in every place were committed the like disorders as were at *Paris*. But principally at *Tholouse*, where the furious Rabble having set upon the first President *Duranti*, and *Daphis* the Advocate General, two men of great understanding, singular Vertue, and uncommon fidelity to the King's Service, Massacred them in the open Street. After which their faculty of Divines, confirm'd the decree of the *Sorbonne*, which was propos'd in a general Assembly at the Town-House, by which they authoris'd the Revolt.

The greatest part of *Provence*, had also thrown it self with the same impetuosity into the *League*, under the leading of the famous *Hubert de Garde*, *Sieur de Vins*, who by his courage and extraordinary Valour, accompanied with his great prudence, and the wonderfull talent he had, of gaining the affections of the people, had acquir'd more reputation and power than any Gentleman not supported by the Royal Authority had ever obtain'd in his own Countrey. He had formerly sav'd the Life of *Henry* the  
Third

Third at *Rochelle*, when that Prince who was then but Duke of *Anjou*, approaching too near to a Retrenchment, a Souldier who had singled him out from all the rest, had just taken aim at him, which the *Sieur de Vins* perceiving, threw himself before him, in the Bullets way, and receiv'd the Musquet shot, which wanted little of costing him his Life. He expected as he had reason, some great preferment from the Duke when he was King, in recompence of so generous an action, but perceiving that all was play'd into the Minions hands, without so much as taking the least notice of his worth, the indignation of being slighted, caus'd him to enter into the Duke of *Guise's* Interests, and to engage in the *League*, (of which he was Head in *Provence*,) the Count of *Carcas* his Uncle, his Brother-in-Law the Count *de Sault*, a great part of the Nobility, and the Parliament of *Aix*, as also to expose the whole Province to the manifest danger of being lost, by calling in the Duke of *Savoy*, who nevertheless was constrain'd at last, to retire with shame into his own Dominions.

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In the mean time, the King who from time to time receiv'd the unpleasant News of the Rebellion of his Subjects, had been forc'd to send back the Deputies of the Estates to their several Provinces, where the greatest part of them being hot *Leaguers*, blew up the Fire to that height, that he was constrain'd at the length to lay aside the ways of Clemency and Mildness, and to take up, (though somewhat of the latest,) those of Rigour and Compulsion. He began by sending a Herald to *Paris*, who bore an Injunction to the Duke of *Aumale*, the pretended Governour, immediately to depart the Town; an Interdiction to the Parliament, to the Exchequer, and the Court of *Aydes*, with prohibition to all other Officers, of any farther exercise of their employments; But he was remanded, without an hearing, loaded with affronts, and threatn'd with an Haker, if he presum'd to return on such an Errant.

He declar'd the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale*, the Citizens of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, and the other Associated Towns, to be guilty of

of High Treason, if within a time prefix'd, they return not to their Duty. He transferr'd the Parliament of *Paris* to *Tours*, and all the Courts of Judicature, which were in the Cities of the *League* to other Towns, which continu'd faithfull to him. But they without being concern'd at his angry Declarations, reveng'd themselves in all places, on such as were of the Royal Party, by all manner of ill usage. He did in the month of *March*, what he ought to have done in *December*: He call'd together his Gendarmery, and Rendevouz'd what Forces he cou'd raise in the Neighbourhood of *Tours*; to which place he had retir'd, as not thinking himself secure in so open and weak a Town as *Blois*; but first he secur'd his Prisoners, whom he caus'd to be carried from the Castle of *Amboise*, and distributed them into several Prisons. But the Duke of *Mayenne* who over-powr'd him in men, was already upon the point of coming out from *Paris* with a strong Army, with a resolution of preventing his designs, and assaulting him in *Tours*. And upon that consideration it was, that he

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was forc'd to resolve upon the onely way, which remain'd for his Shelter, from the last extremities of Violence, and for the preservation of his Crown and Person. *France* at that time was in a most deplorable condition, divided, and as it were broken into three Parties, which laid it waste. That of the *League* the most powerfull of any, by the Rebellion of so many Towns: that of the King of *Navarre*, which had greatly strengthen'd it self, during the first troubles; and that of the King, which in a manner was reduc'd to his own Household, and some very few depending Towns. It was impossible for him in this condition to carry on the War, which he had undertaken against the *Huguenots*, and at the same time, to maintain himself against the Army of the *Leaguers*. It remain'd then, that of necessity he must close with one of those Parties, that by its assistance he might reduce the other to Obedience, or at least that he might save himself from ruine, which was inevitable, if he stood single and expos'd to the violence of the other two. Now the *Leaguers* wou'd

wou'd neither admit of Peace nor Truce with him, having Sworn in the Oath, which was administer'd to them by the Duke of *Mayenne*, that they wou'd prosecute their Vengeance to the extremity, for the death of the two *Guises*. 'Tis manifest by consequence, that he was indispensably oblig'd, to unite himself with the King of *Navarre*, and to accept the aid he offer'd him, with so much frankness and generosity.

After the death of the *Guises*, that Prince making his advantage of so favourable an opportunity, while all things were in confusion amongst the *Catholiques*, had much advanc'd the affairs of his Party, by taking of *Niort*, *Saint Maxent*, *Maillezais*, and some other Towns in *Poitou*, since when, upon his quick recovery from a dangerous Sickness whereof he was like to die, he had push'd his conquests as far as the Frontiers of *Touraine*, having made himself Master of *London*, *Thouars*, *Montreuil Bellay*, *Mirebeau*, *Lisle Bouchard*, *Chastelleraud*, *Argenton*, and of *Blanc* in *Berry*. At which time, observing the wretched

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Estate to which the Kingdom was reduc'd, by the three Parties which dismembred it, he publish'd a Declaration on the fourth of *March*, address'd to the three Estates of *France*, therein exhorting them to Peace, which was the onely remedy for so many distempers, as afflicted the miserable Nation.

Then, having clearly prov'd, that it was impossible for the King to succeed in a Civil War, to be prosecuted as some advis'd him, at the same time against the *Huguenots* and *Leaguers*, he offer'd him his Service, and all the Forces of his Party, not for bringing the *Leaguers* and the Revolted Towns to punishment, but for reducing them to the terms of desiring Peace, which he most humbly petition'd him to grant them, and to pardon and pass by the injuries he had receiv'd, after they had been subdu'd by the joint Forces of all good *French-men*, both of the one Religion and the other; marching under the conduct of his Majesty against Rebels. After which, he protested in the sight of God, and engag'd his Faith and Honour, that forasmuch

as

as that union of his most faithfull Servants, as well *Catholiques* as Protestants was onely intended, to restore the Royal Authority, and Peace in *France*, he wou'd never permit that the *Roman Catholique* Faith, shou'd receive the least prejudice in consideration of it, but that it shou'd always be preserv'd in such Towns as shou'd be taken, without making any alteration of Religion in them.

This Declaration made way for the Treaty, which was begun with great secrecy, immediately after it, in order to the Union of the two Kings. There were some in the Council who endeavour'd to oppose that Negotiation, as fearing that it wou'd much fortify the Party of the *League*, by contributing to the belief of that report, which was already spread by the *Leaguers* amongst the people, that the King had always maintain'd a private Correspondence with the *Huguenots*; besides, that the Pope whose Friendship was necessary, wou'd be scandalis'd at such an Union. The King himself had a great repugnance to it, and doubtless wou'd much rather have

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compounded his differences with the Princes of the *League*, if it had been possible, and thereby to have renew'd his Edict of Reunion, a thing not unknown to the King of *Navarre*, who easily perceiv'd that the Court wou'd never apply to him, but for want of others.

In effect, the King in the beginning of *March*, had written to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and had sent him very advantageous conditions for the Princes of his House, with all manner of Security for them, in case he cou'd prevail with them, to receive the Peace and Treaty which he offer'd. But being refus'd on that side, those of his Council, who were of opinion that the King of *Navarre's* propositions shou'd be accepted, inforc'd so far their strongest Argument, which was pure Necessity, farther alledging the examples of so many *Catholique* Kings and Princes, who like the great Emperour *Theodosius* made use of Infidels and Heretiques against their Enemies, that the King at last consented to set on foot the Treaty.

It

It was concluded at *Tours* on the third of *April*, by the *Sieur du Pleffis-Mornay*, who capitulated on the King of *Navarre's* behalf, on these conditions: That the said King, during the Truce which was made for one year, shou'd serve the King with all his Forces: That he shou'd have a passage on the *Loyre*, which at length was declar'd to be the Town of *Saumur*; after some difficulties which were remov'd concerning the trusting it in his hands. That he shou'd therein have the free exercise of his Religion, and in some other little Towns, which were left to him by way of caution, for his reimbursment of his charges in the War.

This Negotiation of *Du Pleffis*, cou'd not be transacted with so much Secrecy, but that it was vented by the *Legat Morosini*, who thereupon us'd his utmost endeavours in three vigorous Remonstrances to hinder that blow, which he believ'd wou'd be fatal to Religion, according to the false notions which he had of the King of *Navarre*. And the King having told him, that after having tri'd all ways

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of accommodation with the Duke of *Mayenne*, which that Prince had always haughtily rejected, necessity compell'd him to make use of the onely remaining means to defend his Life; the *Legat* earnestly besought him to allow him ten days more, that he might have opportunity of treating in person with that Duke, whom he hop'd he shou'd be able to prevail with, to accept those advantageous terms of Peace, which were presented him. Though the Treaty was not onely concluded, but also sign'd, as appears by the *Memoires of Du Plessis Mornay*, yet the King to make it evident, that it was onely through necessity, that he enter'd into this Union with the *Huguenots* against the *League*, was consenting that before the publication of it, there shou'd be made a last attempt on the inclinations of the Duke of *Mayenne*, to induce him to a reconciliation. To this effect, he gave in writing to the *Legat* the same Articles, which he had already propos'd to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and which were as advantageous to his Family, as he cou'd reasonably desire.

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For there was offer'd to the Duke of *Mayenne*, his Government of *Burgundy*, with full power of placing such Governours in the Towns, as he himself shou'd chuse; of disposing all vacant Offices, and levying on the Province forty thousand Crowns yearly. To the young Duke of *Guise* his Nephew, the Government of *Champaigne*, with two Cities at his choice, therein to keep what Garrisons he pleas'd, twenty thousand Crowns of Pension, and thirty thousand Livres of Income in Benefices for his Brother. To the Duke of *Nemours* the Government of *Lyons*, with a Pension of ten thousand Crowns; to the Duke of *Aumale* the Government of *Picardy*, and two Cities in that Province; to the Duke of *Elbeuf* a Government, and five and twenty thousand Livres of Pension; and what was of greatest importance for that Family, to the Marquis *du Pont*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Government of *Toul*, *Metz* and *Verdun*, with assurance, that if his Majesty had no Issue Male, those three Bishopricks shou'd remain to the Duke of *Lorraine*. To all which, the  
King



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King caus'd this addition to be made, that to remove all difficulties, which might arise in the execution of this Treaty, he wou'd remit himself to the Arbitration of his Holiness, who might please to joyn in the Umpirage with him the Senate of *Venice*, the great Duke of *Thuscany*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Duke of *Lorrain* himself, who had so great an interest in those Articles.

With these conditions the *Legat* went from *Tours* on the tenth of *April*, towards the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was already advanc'd with his Army, as far as *Chasteaudun*. He was receiv'd with all manner of respect, and during the two days conference he had with the Duke, employ'd the most powerfull considerations he cou'd propose to win his consent to a Peace so advantageous for all his House, and so necessary to Religion and the publique welfare: or at least to gain thus far upon him, that if any thing were yet wanting to his entire satisfaction, he wou'd remit his interests and those of his Party into the hands of the Pope, as the King on his side was already dispos'd

dispos'd to refer his own. But after Ann. 1589. all his endeavours, he cou'd not work him to any condescension. And whatever arguments he us'd, he always answer'd with great respect as to the Pope and the person of the *Legat*, but with extreme contempt for the King, whom he perpetually call'd *that Wretch*, that he and his wou'd ever be obedient to the Pope; but that he was very well assur'd, that his Holiness wou'd never lay his Commands upon him, to make any agreement to the prejudice of Religion, with a man who had none at all, and who was united with the *Huguenots*, against the *Catholiques*. That he cou'd not bear the mention of a reconcilment with a perjur'd man, who had neither Faith nor Honour, and that he cou'd never trust his word, who had Murther'd his Brothers so inhumanely, and violated so perfidiously, not onely the publique Faith, but also the Oath which he had taken on the Evangelists at the most holy Sacrament of the Altar.

After this, the Cardinal farther observing, (what he cou'd not otherways have

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have believ'd,) that even more opprobrious terms than these were us'd of the King, through all the Army, and in every City, which own'd the *League*, where no man durst presume to give him the name of King, wrote him word that he cou'd do him no Service with the Duke; and himself not daring to be near his person, while the King of *Navarre* continued with him, went to *Bourbonnois*, where he waited the Orders which he receiv'd from the Pope not long after, to return to *Rome*, and there to give an account of his Legation. Thus, after all hope was utterly lost of concluding any peace with the *Leaguers*, the Treaty with the King of *Navarre* took place. He was put into possession of *Saumur*, the Government of which he gave to the *Sieur du Pleffis-Mornay*, who had so well succeeded in his Negotiation: And it was from that very place that he publish'd his Declaration, concerning his intended passage over the *Loyre*, for the Service of his Majesty, where he protests amongst other things, that being first Prince of the Bloud, whom his Birth oblig'd

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oblig'd before all others to defend his King, he holds none for Enemies, but such as are Rebels, forbidding most strictly all his Souldiers, to commit any manner of offence against those *Catholiques* who were faithfull Subjects to his Majesty, and particularly against the Clergy, whom he takes into his protection.

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The King also made his own at large, wherein he declares the reasons, that oblig'd him to joyn with the King of *Navarre*, for the preservation of his person and the Estate, without any prejudice which could thence ensue, to the *Catholique* Religion, which he wou'd always maintain in his Kingdom, even with the hazard of his Life. But that which at length completed the Happines of this Union betwixt the two Kings, was their Interview which was made in the Park of *Plessis*, on the thirtieth day of *April*, amidst the acclamations of a multitude of people there assembled, and with all the signs of an entire confidence on both sides: Though the old *Huguenot* Captains who had not yet forgot *St. Bartholomew*, us'd their

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their best endeavours that their Master shou'd not have put himself in the King's Power, as he did with all frankness and generosity.

He did yet more, for being gone back with his Guards, and the Gentlemen who attended him to the *Faux-bourgs* of *St. Simphorian* beyond the Bridges; on the next Morning, which was the first of *May*, he repais'd the River, follow'd onely by one Page, and return'd to *Tours*, to be present at the King's *Levè*, who was infinitely pleas'd with this generous procedure, and clearly saw by it, that he had no occasion to suspect him, and that he had reason to hope all things from a Prince, who reli'd so fully on his word, though he had broken it more than once to him, by revoking the Edicts which he had made in favour of him, onely to content the *League*. In this manner they pass'd two days together, and held a Council, where the King of *Navarre* caus'd a resolution to be taken, that for the speedy ending of the War, they shou'd assemble their whole Forces, with all possible diligence, and March directly on to *Paris*,

ris, which was the Head of the *League*, Ann. 1589.  
and on which the body of it depended. After which, leaving with the King, about four or five thousand men, which he had in the Neighbourhood of *Tours*, he went from thence to *Chinon*, and into *Loudunois*, to bring up the remainder of his Forces, who were as yet in doubt of his Union with the Royalists, and by so doing, gave the Duke of *Mayenne* that opportunity which he took of attacking *Tours*.

That Prince had March'd out of *Paris*, in the beginning of *April*, with one half of his Army, and after having taken in *Melun*, and some other little places, which might cause an immediate hindrance to the supplies of that great City; he went to joyn the rest of his Forces, which were Quarter'd in *La Beauce*; after which, leaving on his left hand *Beaugency* and *Blois*, which it was believ'd he wou'd or ought to have attack'd, he advanc'd as far as *Chasteaudun* to execute the design which he had on *Vandome*, and even upon *Tours* it self, by help of the intelligence which those of the *League* had prepar'd for him in  
both

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both those places. *Maille Benehard*, who had sold *Vandome*, of which he was Governour, set open the Gates of it to *Rosne*, the Marshal *de Camp*, who made Prisoners almost all the Members of the great Council, which the King had remov'd thither. The Duke of *Mayenne* arriv'd there immediately after, and having rejoyn'd the Troups of *Rosne*, went to fall upon the Quarters of *Charles de Luxembourg*, Count of *Brienne*, who was lodg'd at *Saint Ouin*, and the Countrey thereabouts, within a League of *Amboise*; he cut off six hundred of his Men, dispers'd the rest and took him Prisoner; afterwards he went to post himself right over against *Saumur*, thereby to hinder the passage of the remainder of the King of *Navarre's* Forces.

But, when he had heard not long after, that the said King was remov'd from *Tours*, he believ'd it wou'd be a convenient time for him to execute his design which he judg'd impossible to fail, by reason of the Correspondence which he held in the Town: Whereupon taking his way back, he March'd with all possible expedition, contrary  
to

to the slowness of his temper, and appear'd in Battalia all on the sudden, the seventh of *May* in the morning, on the Hills which overlook the Fauxbourg of *St. Simphorian*. It wanted but little, that the King, who was gone betimes that day to *Marmoutier*, had not been surpris'd by the Scouts who were within an hundred paces of him. And it was not without great pains and danger, that he got to his first Corps *de Guard*, from whence he return'd into the Town, and there gave so good directions in all places, that they who held Intelligence with the Enemy, durst attempt no disturbance: for which reason the Duke, (who had spun out the time with faint Skirmishes till four of the Clock in the Afternoon, still expecting that the *Leaguers* of the Town wou'd rise for him;) now seeing that there was not the least motion made, gave on with his whole Army so vigorously at three several passages, that he forc'd the Baricades which were made at those three Avenues, and Guarded with twelve hundred men: this he perform'd in the space of half an hour, with the



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loss of about an hundred of his own, and the slaughter of three or four hundred of the King's Souldiers.

This was all that was effected by that attempt of the great Army, which was set on foot by the *League*, which after this first success did nothing more, but fell to committing all manner of Disorders, and horrible Outrages in the Suburbs where they had no farther opposition. For when the Duke of *Mayenne* found, that part of the King of *Navarre's* Forces were arriv'd in the Evening, under the Conduct of the brave *Chastillon*, who was already retrench'd in the Island, over against the *Fauxbourg*, and that the rest wou'd immediately be there, with the King of *Navarre* who wou'd not fail to give him more employment, than his raw, and for the most part new rais'd Souldiers wou'd well suffer, he took occasion to Dislodge silently before day, the next Morning, after his Troups had left their same behind them in the Suburbs, by all manner of Villanies which they there committed. From thence he went to gather up some Regiments which were levy-  
ing

ing for him in *Anjou* and *Maine*; after which possessing himself of *Alanson*, which surrender'd without resistance for want of a Garrison, he was forc'd to return hastily to *Paris*, where they were in a wonderfull consternation, for the loss of the Battail of *Senlis*, which I shall next relate.

*William de Montmorancy*, *Sieur de Thorè*, had so well negotiated while he was at *Chantilly*, with the principal persons of that Town, which at the first had been drawn along by the torrent of the *League*, that he had made himself Master of it at the latter end of *April*, and was enter'd into it, with an hundred Gentlemen of his Friends, and five hundred Foot which he had levied in the Valley of *Montmorancy*. The *Parisians* astonish'd at this surprise, which took from them their communication with *Picardy*, were absolutely bent on the retaking of that place, as soon as was possible; and were so urgent with the Duke of *Aumale*, and the *Sieur de Maineville*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that in three days time they were before the Town, and besieg'd it with

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four or five thousand Citizens of *Paris*, and three pieces of Cannon; to whom *Balagny* not long after joyn'd himself with three or four thousand men, some of them drawn out of the Towns of the Low Countries, and the rest from those of *Picardy*, and brought along with him a train of seven pieces of Artillery, which he had taken out of *Peronne* and *Amiens*.

But while the Siege was thus forming, that Prudent and Valiant Captain *Monsieur de la Noüe*, who commanded the Troups of *Sedan*, the Truce being now made with the Duke of *Lorraine*, had joyn'd his Forces with those of the Duke of *Longueville* at *St. Quentin*, with intention according to the King's Orders, to meet and embody with the *Swissers*, whom *Monsieur de Sancy* had levy'd for his Majesty's Service in the *Cantons*. There seem'd to be offer'd them a fair occasion of doing a piece of good Service to the King, by raising of that Siege, before they put themselves upon their March. To this effect, they advanc'd as far as *Compeigne*, where they had appointed a Rendevouz for the Gentlemen Royal-  
lifts

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lists of *Picardy*, who fail'd not of coming in at the time prefix'd. Inſomuch that on the very day, which was the ſeventh of *May*, when the Town was ſo batter'd by the Cannon, that it was laid quite open, and muſt of neceſſity have Surrender'd, if it had not been ſuccour'd before Night, they appear'd at Noon in view of the place, to the number of a thouſand or twelve hundred Horſe, and three thouſand Foot all experienc'd Souldiers, and reſolv'd upon the point, either to force their paſſage into the Town, or to periſh in the attempt.

The Duke of *Aumale* deceiv'd by his Spies, who aſſur'd him that the Enemy had no Cannon, and knowing himſelf to be twice as ſtrong, doubted not but he ſhou'd be able to defeat them with his Cavalry alone. Accordingly having drawn up with much trouble his *Parisian* Infantry, brisk men to appearance and well arm'd, but a little out of countenance, when they ſaw the Buſineſs in hand, was ſomewhat more than bare Trayning, and that Life was at ſtake, he advanc'd ſo haſtily with his Horſe, ha-

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ving

*Ann. 1589.* ving *Maineville* on his right hand, and *Balagny* on his left, that those two great Bodies of Horse and Foot, were made incapable of relieving and serving each other in the Fight.

*La Noüe*, to whom for the sake of his experience, the young Duke of *Longueville* had intrusted the care and conduct of the Army, having observ'd the countenance of the Enemy, and finding the *Parissians* disorder'd and wavering, was confident he cou'd beat them with those few Troups, which he had then in the Field, and who were imbattel'd in this order. The Duke of *Longueville* was in the main Body, with his Squadron compos'd of a great number of brave Gentlemen, having at the Head of them, the Lord *Charles de Humieres*, Marquis d' *Encre*, and Governour of *Compeigne*, who had furnish'd the Army with Cannon and Ammunition, which occasion'd the gaining of the Battel. This was he who having soon discover'd the pernicious designs of the *League*, serv'd the King so well against it, that *Henry* the Fourth at his coming to the Crown, made him his Lieutenant in *Picardy*,

*Picardy*, with an extraordinary privilege, that he shou'd have the full Authority of disposing all things in that Province.

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His great Services, his extraordinary Deserts, his high Reputation, his Performances on this great day, and many signal actions during the War, gain'd him without any other recommendation his Commission for General of the Artillery, which was sign'd not long before his Death; and he was yet in a way of mounting higher, if his too great Courage had not expos'd him to that fatal Musquet shot, which kill'd him at the taking of *Han*; though the Garrison of *Spaniards* had small cause to boast of it, who were all sacrific'd to the just sorrow of the Army for the loss of so brave a Gentleman. They who came in to the Duke of *Longueville* with him, were *Louis Dongniet*, Count *de Chaulne* his Brother-in-Law, the *Sieurs de Maulvrier, Lanoy, Longueval, Cany, Bonnivet, Givry, Fretoy, Mesvillier*, and *La Tour*.

This Squadron was flank'd on the right and left with two gross Battalions,

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ons, having each of them two Field pieces, which were not drawn out of *Compeigne* till some time after the Army was March'd, on purpose to deceive the Spies, who thereupon gave intelligence that they had none. He plac'd on his right Wing the Cavalry of *Sedan*, at the Head of which he was resolv'd to Fight in Person : and on his left, the Horsemen which were drawn out from those places, that held for the King in *Picardy*. The Duke of *Aumale* who made such over haste to the Victory, of which he made sure in his conceipt, that he left his Cannon behind him, was the first who sounded the Charge, and *Balagny* with his Squadron of *Cambresians* and *Walloons*, advanc'd eagerly to attack the right Wing of the Royalists, which was much inferiour to his own in strength ; but when he was almost just upon them, the gross Battalion which cover'd the left side of that Squadron, opening in a moment, he was surprisingly saluted with a Volley of Cannon, which carri'd off at once whole ranks of his Squadron, and constrain'd him to retire in great disorder.

Then

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Then the Duke of *Aumale*, who plainly saw that there was no other remedy for this unexpected mischief, but speedily to win the Enemies Cannon, put himself upon the gallop, follow'd by *Maineville* and *Balagny*, who had recover'd his disorder, and all three went at the Head of their men, to force that Infantry of the Enemy. But they were scarce come up within an hundred paces of them, when their other Battalion opening, a second Volley came thundring upon them, and raking them in the Flank, did more execution than the former. A third which immediately succeeded it, shook their whole Body, which having advanc'd a little farther, the Musquetiers which flank'd their Horse, made their discharge, so justly both against Man and Horse, that the Field was strew'd with dead Bodies; and in the mean time the whole Cavalry of the Royallists charg'd upon them who were already wavering and half routed: and the Besieg'd at the same time sallying out, fell upon the rere of the *Parisian* Infantry, who had been abandon'd by their Cavalry, so that  
now



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now it was no longer to be call'd a Battel, but a downright Slaughter, and a general defeat.

Never was any Victory more complete, with so little loss to the Conquerours: the Field of Battel remain'd in their Possession, cover'd with above two thousand Slain, without reckoning into the number, those who were kill'd by the Peasants, or such as cou'd not recover themselves out of the Marishes, which are about the Abbey *de la Victoire*. The Camp of the Vanquish'd, the Merchandises, and Commodities which had been brought thither from *Paris*, the Cannon, the Ammunition, the Colours, the Baggage, and twelve hundred Prisoners were the Conquerours reward: Who some few days after as they March'd towards *Burgundy*, there to joyn the *Swissers*, saluted the *Parisians* from the Heights of *Montfaucon*, with some Vollies of Cannon, and thereby gave them notice of their defeat, with a truer account of it than had been given them by the Duke of *Aumale* and *Balagny*, whereof the one sav'd himself in *St. Denis*, and the other in *Paris*.

And

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And as it often happens, that one misfortune comes on the Neck of another, to those who are in the way of being beaten, this defeat was follow'd the very next day after it, being the eighteenth of *May*, with the loss of three hundred brave Gentlemen of *Picardy*, whom the Governour of *Dourlens*, *Charles Tiercelin de Saveuse*, was bringing to the Duke of *Mayenne*; who being met in *La Beauce* towards *Bonneval*, by the Count of *Chastillon*, with a greater strength, were almost all of them Slain, after having fought like Lions without asking Quarter, or so much as promising for safety of their Lives, that they wou'd never bear Arms against the King. Such violent *Leaguers* were these men, and above all, *Saveuse* their Captain, who being carried off to *Baugency*, wounded in all parts of his Body, where the King of *Navarre* a great lover of brave Men was very desirous to have sav'd him, refus'd all kind of remedies, for the fullen pleasure of Dying, having nothing in his mouth but the praises of the Duke of *Guise*, and a thousand imprecations against his Murderers.

These

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These fortunate events, accompani'd by the great success which the Duke of *Montpensier* had in *Normandy* against the *Leaguers*, occasion'd the King of *Navarre* who was advanc'd as far as *Baugency*, with part of his *Forces*, to return to *Tours*, that he might advise the King no longer to delay the time in fruitless Treaties, which were still counsell'd him by some, and were so agreeable to his lazy and unactive genius; and to let him know, that it was now high time to put in execution a more generous design, which was to attack the Enemy in their chiefest strength, by besieging *Paris*. He resolv'd on this at last; but first he was desirous of getting *Orleans* into his power; which if he cou'd compass, he shou'd thereby deprive *Paris* of the great supplies which might be drawn from thence.

To effect this, having in the beginning of *June* pass'd his Army over the Bridge of *Baugency* in *La Sologne*, he caus'd *Gergeau* to be assaulted: the Governour of which place, who had the confidence to stay till the Cannon had made a breach, which he was not able

able to defend, was taken, and hang'd for an example. Those of *Gien*, terrified by this just severity, made haste to surrender before the Artillery had play'd; and the Inhabitants of *La Charité* put themselves immediately into the King's hands of their own accord; so that his Majesty, excepting onely *Nantz*, was Master of all the passages on the *Loire*, both above and below *Orleans*, which he invested on all parts of it.

The *Sieur de la Chastre*, who after the death of the *Guises* had promis'd fidelity to the King, and not long afterwards had declar'd a second time for the *League*, in his Government of *Berry*, put himself into that Town, with all the Forces he cou'd make; and the Inhabitants, encourag'd by his presence, refus'd with great scorn those advantageous propositions which were made them by the King, laugh'd at his threatnings, and took up a resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity. Insomuch that it being concluded, it was but loss of time to undertake that Siege, the first design of going directly on to *Paris* was resum'd.

For

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For which reason they repals'd the *Loire*, and upon the March without much trouble took in the Towns of *Pluviers*, *Dourdan* and *Estampes*; at which last place the King receiv'd the unwelcome news of the Monitory which Pope *Sixtus* had publish'd against him; and this was the occasion of it.

Not long after the death of the *Guises*, the King, who clearly saw by the Remonstrations which the *Legat Morosini* had made him, that the absolution which he had receiv'd by virtue of his Breviat, wou'd not be receiv'd at *Rome*; had sent thither *Claude d' Angennes* Bishop of *Mans* to intercede for another, notwithstanding all the discouraging Letters which had been written him by his friends from thence, to dissuade him from it; or at least to delay a submission of this nature, which might prove prejudicial to him. In farther prosecution of this the *Marquis de Pisany* his Ambassadour, and the Cardinal *de Joyeuse*, acting in joint commission with the Bishop by his order, had represented to Pope *Sixtus* the most powerfull reasons they cou'd

cou'd urge, to procure this favour from him: to which the Pope who was grown inflexible on that point, had answer'd them ruggedly according to his nature; that he was willing to take no cognifance of the Duke of *Guise's* death, because he was the King's Subject; but the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the Arch-bishop of *Lyons* whom he held Prisoners, not being his Subjects, (since none but the Pope had a Sovereign Power over Cardinals and Bishops,) he wou'd never grant him absolution before he had restor'd them to their liberty, or at least put them into the hands of his *Legat*, that they might be sent to *Rome*, where himself wou'd execute justice on them, in case he found them guilty.

On the other side, the Commander of *Diu*, the *Sieur Coquelaine* Counsellor in Parliament, *Nicholas de Piles* Abbot of *Orbais*, and the *Sieur Frison* Dean of the Church of *Rheims*, who were Deputies for the *League* at *Rome*, to hinder the *Pope* from giving this Absolution, not onely oppos'd it with all their force, but also us'd their best endeavours to perswade him, that he wou'd

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would publish the Excommunication, which he himself had said was incurr'd by the King for the murder of the Cardinal of *Guise*; and amongst other arguments which they alledg'd, to carry him to this extreme severity against a most Christian King, they fail'd not to urge the Authority of the Decrees of the *Sorbonne*, and principally that of the fifth of *April*. In that Decree, the Faculty declare that *Henry de Valois*, ought not to be pray'd for in any Ecclesiastique Prayer; much less at the Canon of the Mass, in regard of the Excommunication, which he had incurr'd; and that these words *Pro Rege nostro*, ought to be taken out of the Canon, lest it shou'd be believ'd that they pray'd for him; even though the Priest by directing his intention otherwise shou'd call down the effect of those Prayers on the present Governours, or on him to whom God Almighty had reserv'd the kingdom. The same Decree wills, that instead of them, there shou'd be said at Mass three Prayers which are not in the Canon, *Pro Christianis Principibus nostris*, which were Printed and remain

main at this day to be seen. Lastly, <sup>Ann. 1589.</sup> it adds, that all such, who will not conform to this Decree, shall be depriv'd of the Prayers and other rights of the Faculty, from which they shall be driven out, like Excommunicated Persons: and this was approv'd by the general consent of all the Doctors.

'Tis most certain that these Decrees, together with what was continually buzz'd in the Pope's ears, that the King's party was absolutely ruin'd, contributed not a little to the resolution which he took of prosecuting the King by the ways of rigour, and without fear. But that which put the last hand to his determination, was the *Manifesto* of the two Kings, who were now in conjunction against the *League*. For being a man of an haughty temper, he was not able to endure that the King shou'd be united, with a person whom he had excommunicated as a relaps'd Heretique, by a thundring Bull, which he had caus'd to be inserted in the Bullary, reprinted by  
K k him,



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him, for that onely purpose: he easily believ'd whatever reports were rais'd by the *Leaguers* to the disadvantage of the King's party or his cause, and accordingly set up in *Rome* his Monitory against him.

In which he commands him to set at full liberty the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the Arch-bishop of *Lyons*, within ten days after the publication of his Monitory, at the Gates of two or three of six Cathedral Churches which are nam'd, and which are those of *Poitiers*, *Orleans*, *Chartres*, *Meaux*, *Angers*, and *Mans*, and to give him assurance of it within thirty days by an Authentique Act. In default of which he pronounces from that present time, and for the future, that he and all his Accomplices in the murther of the Cardinal of *Guise*, and the imprisonment of the other Prelates, have damnablely incurr'd the greater Excommunication, and the other Ecclesiastical censures, denounc'd by the Bull, *In Cæna Domini*, from which they can never be absolv'd, except onely in the  
article

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article of death, by giving security *Ann. 1589.*  
that they will obey the *Mandats* of  
the Church. Farthermore, he cites  
them to make their appearance within  
two months, before his Tribunal, the  
King himself in person, or by his  
Proctor, and the rest personally, to  
give in their reasons why they believe  
they have not incurr'd the censures,  
and why the King's Subjects are not  
absolv'd from their Oath of Allegi-  
ance; and in fine invalidates all  
Privileges to the contrary which  
the King himself, or his Predecessours  
have formerly obtain'd from the Holy  
See.

This Monitory was posted up at  
*Rome*, on the twenty fourth of *May*;  
and the *Leaguers* Printed it at *Paris*,  
and publish'd it with all the formal-  
ities accustom'd, at *Paris*, *Chartres*,  
and *Meaux* on the twenty third of *June*;  
and I have seen the Acts of it, which  
were Printed immediately after at  
*Paris*, with the Monitory, by *Nicho-*  
*las Nivelle*, and *Rolin Thierry* Statio-  
ners and Printers for the Holy Union,

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with

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with the Privilege of the Body of the Council General of the same Holy Union, Signed by *Senault*, their Secretary.

It was then at *Estampes*, that the King receiv'd this information, that he was prosecuted in this manner, both at *Rome* and in *France* by the Arms of the Church, at the same time when the Rebels assaulted him with theirs, to pull him from the Throne. It was told him indeed, that there were contain'd in that Monitory, many heads which were nullities in their own nature, and which consequently made the whole invalid, even though it were against a private person. But when notwithstanding all these reasons, he still answer'd that it gave him exceeding trouble; the King of *Navarre*, who desir'd nothing more than speedily to prosecute the design of besieging *Paris*, told him pleasantly as well as truly, that he had found out a sure expedient for him; "And, Sir," said he, with his accustomed quickness, 'tis onely this, that we over-  
"come;

" come; and the sooner the better; *Ann. 1589.*  
" for if we succeed, you may assure  
" your self of your Absolution; but  
" in case we are beaten, we shall be  
" still Excommunicated, over and over,  
" and damn'd with three pil'd curses  
" on our heads.

This saying was much of a piece with what the Bishop of *Mans*, had written to the King from *Rome*; that if he were desirous of the Absolution, which was refus'd him in that Court, he had no more to doe but to make himself the strongest in his own Kingdom.

Thus the King thinking it his best course to dissemble his knowledge of the Monitory, never own'd that he had seen or heard of it; but march'd still forward, to pass the *Seine* at the Bridge of *Poissy*, which he forc'd; after which having taken *Pontoise*, which was surrender'd on the 25th of *July*, after a fortnights siege, having been vigorously defended by the *Sieur d'Alincour*, who was there grievously wound-

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ded, and the *Sieur de Hautefort*, who lost his life; he went to *Conflans*, and there receiv'd the Army of the *Swisses*, which was conducted to him by *Nicholas de Harlay, Sieur de Sancy*; who by performing so great and seasonable a service to the King his Master, has deserv'd the praise of all posterity.

At the beginning of this War, there being a Council held, wherein were propos'd the most speedy and efficacious means that cou'd be found to carry it on, the King being then reduc'd to a very low condition; *Sancy*, who had been formerly his Ambassador in *Swisserland*, maintain'd that there was no better expedient, than to treat with the *Cantons*, who to defend themselves from the Arms of *Savoy*, which threatned *Geneva*, and design'd to shut it up on the side of *France*, wou'd willingly permit a great Levy of their Subjects to be made in favour of the King, who might hereafter be in a condition to succour them, in case they shou'd be driven to extremity.

But

But, because the Exchequer was wholly drain'd, and *No Money no Swisse* was the common Proverb, his proposition was turn'd into ridicule, and he was ask'd if he knew the man who wou'd undertake to raise an Army, without any other ingredient than Pen and Paper? Then *Sancy*, who though he was of the long Robe, had a Souldiers heart, (for at that time, he was onely a Master of Requests) Since, said he, not one of all those who have been enrich'd by the King's bounty, will make offer of himself to serve him, I declare that I will be the man. And thereupon accepted a very ample Commission which was given him by the King, but without a penny to bear his charges, to treat with the *Swisses* and *Germans* for the raising of an Army.

To go through with his business, he Mortgag'd all he had, and took up what he could procure upon his Credit; and in sequel, acted with so much fortune and such good management with the Magistrates of *Bern*, of *Basile*,

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of *Soleure*, and of *Geneva*, that after having taken from the Duke of *Savoy* the Bailly-wicks of *Gex* and *Thonon*, the Fort of *Ripaille*, and some other places, thereby to employ him for some time, and to hinder him from molesting of his neighbours, he put himself at the head of the Royal Army, compos'd of ten or twelve thousand Foot, *Swisses*, *Grisons*, and *Genevians*, with near two thousand *Reyters*, and twelve pieces of Cannon. With these Forces he travers'd all the Countrey from *Geneva* by *Swisserland*, as far as the County of *Montbelliard*, from whence crossing the *French* County, and passing the *Saone* towards *Joinville*, he came to *Langres* which held for the King, and thence to *Chastillon* on the *Seine*, to joyn the Duke of *Longueville* and *La Noüe*. From whence marching through *Champaigne*, all three in company, with twenty thousand men, they passed the *Seine* at *Poissy*, and in conclusion arriv'd happily at the King's Army. His Majesty receiv'd *Sancy* with tears in his eyes, and protested in presence of all the Officers of his Army,

Army, that he wept for joy, and grief together, that he had not wherewithall at present to reward the greatest service, which a Subject cou'd perform to his King; and that what he had done for him in making him Colonel of the *Swisses*, was nothing in comparison of what he intended him, being resolv'd that one day he wou'd make him so great, that there shou'd not be a man in his Kingdom, who might not have occasion to envy him.

But fortune, which is pleas'd with persecuting of vertue, dispos'd quite otherwise of the matter, by that deplorable accident, which happen'd three days after, and by the misery which his own noble heartedness had drawn upon him. For instead of those large recompences which he might reasonably expect, after having done so worthy an action, he was reduc'd so low, that he was constrain'd at last to sell all he had, therewith to pay the debts which he had contracted by Levying at his own charges that gallant Army, which put the King in  
a con-



*Ann. 1589.* a condition of conquering his Rebels, and by consequence of triumphing over the *League*. In effect, after the conjunction of the two Armies, in the general review of all his Troups, he saw himself at the head of more than forty five thousand Men, experienc'd Souldiers, with which, after having possess'd himself on the thirtieth of *July*, of the Bridge of *St. Clou*, (from whence he drove the *Leaguers* with his Cannon,) he was resolv'd, within two days, to attaque the *Faux-bourgs* of *Paris*, on both sides of the River.

There is all the appearance of probability, that he had carri'd them, at the first onset, and by consequence the Town it self, where they were already in extreme consternation, all the passages for provisions, being block'd up; and the Duke of *Mayenne*, not having about him above five or six thousand Souldiers at the most; who were not the third part of the number which was necessary for the defence of the Retrenchments of so great a com-

compass, as those which he had made for all the *Fauxbourgs*; considering besides that the King had within the Town so great a number of good Subjects, who having taken courage at his approach, had drawn over a great party of the honest Citizens, receiving an assurance that the punishment would onely fall on the Principal of the *Leaguers*, in case the King entring the Town as a Conquerour, thou'd think fit to remember the old business of the Baricades. Insomuch that the Duke of *Mayenne* had occasion to fear, that at the same time when the *Fauxbourgs* were attack'd there would be a sudden rising for the King, within the Town, and that those who had thus risen, would make themselves Masters of one of the Gates, which they would open to him, and afterwards act in conjunction with his Army.

To this purpose 'tis reported, that the Duke who, notwithstanding all his temper and his slowness, was very brave, being sensible of his desperate condition, though in outward shew  
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he seem'd confident of good success, still plying the people from the Pulpits with a thousand Lyes for their encouragement; had resolv'd with a chosen Troup of his bravest men, who were willing to follow his fortune, to throw himself into the midst of the Royal Army, with his Sword in his hand, either to overcome, against all appearance of probability, by a generous despair, (which is sometimes prosper'd by the chance of Arms,) or to die honourably in using the onely means which were now left him, to revenge the death of his two Brothers.

In this flourishing condition the King's affairs then stood, and to this low ebb was the *League* reduc'd, when fortune which plays with the lives of men, of which she sometimes makes a ridiculous Comedy, and at other times a bloody Tragedy, all on the sudden chang'd the Scene, as if the action had been upon a Theatre, by the most Sacrilegious blow which was ever given, I say not by a Man but  
by

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by a Devil incarnate. 'Tis not necessary that I shou'd here relate every particular circumstance of so execrable a deed, which is already known to all the world: 'Tis sufficient that in performance of my duty, as an Historian, I onely say, That a young *Jacobin*, call'd *Jaques Clement*, a man of mean capacity, Superstitious, and Fanatically devout, being perswaded by the furious Sermons of the Preachers, and by a certain Vision which he thought he had, that he shou'd be a Martyr if he lost his life, for having kill'd *Henry de Valois*, was so far intoxicated with this damnable opinion, that he scrupled not to say openly, that the people needed not to give themselves so much trouble; and that he knew well enough how to deliver *Paris*, in due time. And when it was known that the King was at *St. Clou*, where he had taken up his quarters, and was lodg'd at the House of *Monsieur Jerome de Gondy*, he went out of *Paris*, the next morning, which was the last of *July*, with a Letter of Credence address'd to the King, from the  
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first President *de Harlay*, who was at that time a Prisoner in the *Bastille*; 'tis uncertain whether that Letter in reality was written by that illustrious person, deluded by the *Jacobin*, whom he thought a fitting Messenger to convey such intelligence, as he had to send, or whether it were counterfeited, as an assur'd means of gaining him access, and opportunity to put in practice his damnable resolution.

For being introduc'd the day following, about seven or eight a clock in the morning into the King's Chamber, while that good Prince, who always receiv'd men in Orders with great kindness, was reading the Letter attentively, and bowing his body to listen to some secret message which he believ'd was brought him by the Fryar, (as was imported by his Credentials,) the Parricide who was kneeling before him, pulling out a knife from his sleeve, stabb'd him with it into the belly, and left it in the wound; from whence the King drawing it, and at the same time rising from his Chair, and crying out, Thrust it very deep into

into the Fryar's forehead. There were <sup>Ann. 1529.</sup> at that time in the room onely *Bellegarde*, first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and *La Guesle* the Attorney General, who having the day before interrogated the Villain without finding any thing in his discourse, that might administer the least cause of suspicion, had brought him to the King, by his own command. But many of the forty five entering suddenly upon the King's outcry, fell inconsiderately upon him in the first transport of their fury, and in a moment stuck him in with many thrusts without giving any attention to *La Guesle*, who after he had struck him with the handle of his Sword, cri'd out as loud as he cou'd possibly, that they shou'd not kill him: The wretch immediately expiring, they threw his Corps all bloudy out of the Window, which the grand Prevost of the King's house, caus'd immediately to be tyed to four Horses, and dragg'd about till it was torn in pieces.

There are some who, not being able  
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*Ann. 1589.* to believe that one in Orders cou'd be capable of so impious an action, have doubted that this Monster of a man was either some *Leaguer*, or some *True Protestant* disguis'd into a Fryar; and a Modern Authour to save the honour of the *Jacobins*, has endeavour'd of late to renew and fortify this doubt, in the best manner he was able: But besides that the Parricide was known by some who were of his acquaintance; 'tis most certain that the same *Jaques Clement*, who was examin'd the evening before by *La Guesle*, which is agreed on all sides, was introduc'd by himself, the next morning into the King's Chamber; for it can never be thought, that the Attorney General, a man of good understanding, shou'd be so far mistaken, as to take another man for him whom he had interrogated with so much circumspection. And yet farther, since the King, in the Letters which he sent to the Governours of Provinces and to his Allies, immediately after he was wounded, says positively, that when he was stabb'd by the *Jacobin*, there were onely in his

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his Chamber *Bellegarde* and *La Guesle*, Ann. 1589.  
whom he had commanded to stand at  
a distance, that he might hear what the  
•Traytour had to say to him in private,  
it follows necessarily, that either the one  
or the other of these two committed  
this detestable action, if it were not  
*Jaques Clement*: and the former of these  
two suppositions, is what can never en-  
ter into the imagination of any reason-  
able man.

For which reason, without losing  
my time either to destroy or leave  
doubtfull a truth so known, and so ge-  
nerally agreed on by all the Writers  
of those times, and confirm'd besides  
by so many authentique Witnesses;  
I believe it safer to rest satisfi'd with  
the universal opinion of Mankind,  
without the least daubing of the mat-  
ter in regard of his profession, which  
can reflect no manner of dishonour on  
the *Jacobins*. For there is no dispute  
but all crimes are personal; and there  
is no man of good sense, who can  
think it reasonable to upbraid a whole  
Order, with the guilt of one par-  
ticular

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particular person in it ; and principally that of Saint *Dominic*, which is always stor'd with excellent men, renown'd for their Vertue, their Learning, and their Pious conversation.


Now, though the wound was great, and had pierc'd very deep, yet the Chirurgeons at the first dressing were of opinion that the Knife had slipp'd betwixt the Bowels without entring into them, and that therefore the King was not hurt to death : of this they all assur'd him, and thereupon he sent advice to the Princes his Allies, that in ten days he shou'd be able to get on horseback. But whether it were that the wound was not searh'd to the bottom, or that the knife was empoysen'd, it was known, not long after, that the hurt was mortal.

Never Prince was less surpris'd than he, at the certainty of death : nor receiv'd it more calmly, more Christianly, or more devoutly. He confess'd himself three several times to the *Sieur de*

*de Boulogne*, the Chaplain of his Closet, and being advertis'd by him that there was a Monitory out against him, and exhorted to satisfie the Church in what was demanded of him, before he cou'd have absolution given him, I am, answer'd he, without the least hesitation, the Eldest Son of the *Roman Catholick Church*, and will die such. I promise in the presence of God, and before you all, that I have no other desire, than to content his Holiness in all he can require from me. Upon which the Confessour being fully satisfi'd gave him Absolution. All the remainder of the day, he pass'd in his Devotions, and in Contemplation of Holy things; till the King of *Navarre* being arriv'd from his Quarters at *Meudon*, it being now well onward in the night, and throwing himself on his knees before him, with his eyes full of tears, and without being able to pronounce one word, he rais'd himself up a little, and leaning gently on his head, declar'd him his lawfull Successour, commanding all the Nobility, who fill'd the Cham-

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ber, to acknowledge and obey him as their King, at the same time telling him, that if he wou'd Reign peaceably, it was necessary for him to return into the Church, and to profess the Religion of all the most Christian Kings his Predecessours.

When he felt the approaches of death, about two of the Clock in the Morning, he confess'd himself once more, after which he call'd for the holy Sacrament ; which *Viatikum* he receiv'd with incredible devotion. After which he continu'd in all the most fervent actions of Faith, Hope, and Charity, relying wholly on the infinite merits of the Passion of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, pardoning all his Enemies from the bottom of his heart, and particularly those who had procur'd his death ; and thereupon he desir'd for the third time to receive Absolution, beseeching God to forgive him all his Sins, even as he forgave all the injuries which had been done him. After this he began to say the *Miserere*, which he was  
not

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not able to finish, having lost his Speech, at these words, *And restore to me the joy of thy Salvation*; and having twice sign'd himself with the sign of the Cross, he quietly gave up his breath, about four of the clock in the morning, on the second day of *August*, and in the thirty ninth year of his Age.

Thus died *Henry* the third King of *France* and *Poland*, making it appear at his death, that during his Life he had in his Soul a true foundation of Piety, and that those extraordinary and odd actions, which he did from time to time, though they were not altogether regular, nor becoming his Quality, yet proceeded not from that unworthy principle of Hypocrisie, with which the *Leaguers* have so ignominiously branded him: As to the rest, he was a Prince who being endu'd with all the Noble Qualities, which I have describ'd in his Character in the beginning of this History, had been one of the most excellent Kings who ever Reign'd, if he cou'd

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*Ann. 1589.* have shewn them to the World, after his assumption to the Crown, with the same lustre in which they appear'd before it.

The *Huguenots* and *Leaguers*, who agree'd in nothing but their common hatred to this Prince, rejoyc'd equally at his Death, and spoke of it as a kind of Miracle, and as a stroke proceeding from the hand of God. "The Protestants have written that he was wounded, and died afterwards in the same Chamber, where he had procur'd the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, to be resolv'd. Notwithstanding which it is most certain, that the House wherein the King was hurt to Death, was not Built by the *Sieur Jerome de Gondy*, till the year 1577, which was five years after the foresaid Massacre. For which reason that imposture being manifest, the Parliament upon the complaint, which the Attorney General made concerning it, ordain'd that this passage shou'd be rac'd out from the addition which was made  
" by

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" by *Monliard*, to the *Inventaire* of the *Ann. 1589.*  
" *History of France*. But the Zealots  
" of *Geneva* have not been wanting,  
" to restore it entirely as it was before,  
" in the Impression which they made  
" of that Book.

As for the *Leaguers* they proclaim'd their Joy so loudly, and in so scandalous a manner, that their Books cannot be read without an extreme abhorrence to the Writers. They publish'd in their Narratives Printed at *Paris* and at *Lyons*, that an Angel had declar'd to *Jaques Clément*, that a Crown of Martyrdom was prepar'd for him, when he had deliver'd *France* from *Henry de Valois*; and that having communicated his Vision to a knowing man in Orders, he had approv'd it; assuring him that by giving this Stroke, he shou'd make himself as well pleasing to God, as *Judith* was by killing *Holophernes*. And because his Prior who was called Father *Edm. Bourgoing*, was accus'd to be the man, amongst all the Preachers of the *League*, who was the most transported

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ted in the praises of this abominable Parricide, his Subject, Apostrophising to him in the Pulpit, and calling him the blessed Child of his Patriarch, and the Holy Martyr of *Jesus Christ*, and also comparing him to *Judith*; It was not doubted but that he was the person, by whom this young man who was under his charge, had been advis'd and was afterwards confirm'd, in this his execrable resolution.

For which reason, being taken with Arms in his hand three Months after, at the assault of the *Fauxbourgs* of *Paris*, his process was made, and though he obstinately deny'd it to his Death, (which he suffer'd with a wonderfull resolution;) yet since he cou'd not convince the Witnesses of falsehood who Swore against him, he was judg'd according to the forms of Justice, as he himself acknowledg'd, and drawn in pieces by four Horses, according to the decree of the Parliament sitting at *Tours*.

Howsoever it were, 'tis certain, that the greatest part of those outrageous  
Preachers

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Preachers of the *League*, said altogether as much as what was alledg'd against the Prior: for *Monsieur Anthoine Loyfel* has left it Written in his Journal, that on the very same day whereon the King was Wounded, and before the news of it was come to *Paris*, he heard at *St. Merry* the Sermon of Doctour *Boucher*, who said by way of consolation to his Auditours, that as on that day, (namely the first of *August* when the Feast of *St. Peter* in Prison is celebrated,) God had deliver'd that Apostle from the hands of *Herod*, so they ought to hope, he had the like mercy in store for them. "And immediately made no scruple to maintain this damnable proposition to them, that it was an action of great merit to kill an Heretique King, or a favourer of Heretiques.

The rest of the same fraternity of Preachers, joyning in the Consort, on the same day, held forth in the Pulpits with more violence than ever, against *Henry de Valois*, and gave the people (says the same undeniable  
M m                      Witness,)



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Witness, ) a hope almost in the nature of a certainty, that God would speedily deliver them, which gave just occasion for many to believe, that the devilish design of that Assassinate had been communicated to them. And when it was known that the Blow was given, it was order'd that publique Prayers shou'd be made in all the Churches of the City, together with a solemn action of thanksgiving to Almighty God. For a whole Week together they made Processions from all the Parishes, to the Church of the *Jacobins*, and exhorted the people to distribute their Alms liberally to the Religious of that Cloyster, for the sake of Fryer *Jaques Clement*; as also to extend their Charity to his poor Relations.

To conclude, Doctour *Roze*, Bishop of *Senlis* an old man, and most outrageous *Leaguer* Preach'd there, according to the direction of the Council of Sixteen, which was sent in Tickets to all the Preachers in the City, on Sunday the sixth of *August*, wherein they

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they were appointed to insist particularly on three Heads, which I will here set down as they are express'd in the Tickets themselves; that it may be notorious with what an *Egyptian* blindness, that infamous Cabal of the *League* was then struck. "Take them in their own Words. 1. You are to justify the action of the *Jacobin*, because it is a parallel to that of *Judith*, so much magnifi'd in the Holy Scriptures. For he who hears not the Church, ought to be accounted as an Heathen or an *Holofernes*. 2. Cry out against those, who say that the King of *Navarre* is to be receiv'd, in case he goes to *Mals*: Because he can be but an *Ursurper* of the Kingdom, being *Excommunicated*, and also standing excluded from that of *Navarre*. 3. Exhort the Magistracy, to publish against all those who shall maintain the King of *Navarre*, that they are attainted of the crime of *Heresie*, and as such to proceed against them.

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But after all these doings, this brutal joy of the *Leaguers* for the Death of *Henry* the Third, was immediately after turn'd into sadness, and at the last into despair, by the wise management, and incomparable valour of his Successour *Henry de Bourbon*, to whom God had preordain'd the Glory of restoring the happiness of *France*, by the utter destruction of the *League*, which had laid it desolate. The relation of which, is the Business of the fourth and last part of my present History.

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**T**Hough *Henry* King of *Navarre*, whom the deceas'd King had at his Death declar'd his Lawful Successor, immediately took upon himself, the Sovereign Title of King of *France*, yet was he not acknowledg'd for such, at the same time by the whole Army. The *Hugonots*, whom he had brought to the Assistance of his Predecessor, were the first to render him Homage, as no ways

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doubting, but that the World was now their own, and that *Calvinism* shou'd be the predominant Religion in *France*, under a Protestant King. But this very Consideration, gave great trouble and anxiety of Mind to that prudent Prince; who plainly saw, that the *Catholicks* foreseeing this Misfortune, of which they were extremely apprehensive, might possibly reunite themselves against him; and that the *Huguenots*, who were without Comparison the weaker Party, cou'd never be able to support him on the Throne.

In effect, there was, during all that day, and the whole night following, a great Contestation of Opinions, amongst the Catholique Lords of the Army, in relation to this Affair. Many of them, who consider'd more their private Interest, than the publique Good, were desirous to make advantage of a Juncture, so favourable for the establishment of their Fortunes, and to sell their Obedience at the highest Rate they cou'd, by raising their Governments into Principalities, which had been to cantonize

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nize the Monarchy. There were great numbers of them, led by different Motives, some by a true Zeal for Religion, others by the Aversion which they had for this new King, which they disguis'd with a specious pretence of Zeal, who wou'd absolutely have it, that he shou'd instantly declare himself a Catholique; which cou'd not possibly be done, either with the Kings Honour, or with Provision of security to the Catholiques; because too much of Constraint was evident in such an Action. Some there were also, who maintain'd, that since his Birth, and the Fundamental Law of the Land, had brought him to the Throne of which his Heroick Virtues had render'd him most worthy, it was their Duty to acknowledge him, and to obey him chearfully, without imposing on him the least Conditions. But this was it, which the greatest part of them thought too dangerous to Religion, which they were unwilling to hazard by such a Complement.

In conclusion, after this important Affair had been throughly examin'd

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in the Kings Council, and in the general Assembly of the Catholique Princes and Lords, which was held in the Lodgings of *Francis de Luxembourg*, Duke de Piney, they came to an Agreement the next Morning, by holding a just Temperament betwixt the two Extreame. For, without insisting on their private Interests, that they might act frankly, and like Gentlemen, it was determin'd that the King shou'd be acknowledg'd; but upon condition, that he shou'd cause himself to be instructed within six months time, by the most able Prelates of the Kingdom; that he shou'd restore the Exercise of the Catholique Religion, in all places from whence it had been banish'd, and remit the Ecclesiastiques into the full and entire Possession of all their Goods; that he shou'd bestow no Governments on *Hugonots*; and that this Assembly might have leave to depute some persons to the Pope, to render him an account of their Proceedings.

This Accommodation was sign'd by all the Lords, excepting only the Duke

Duke of *Espernon*, and the *Sieur de Vitry*; who absolutely refus'd their Consent to it. *Vitry* went immediately into *Paris*, and there put himself into the Service of the *League*; which he believ'd at that time, to be the cause of Religion. As for the Duke of *Espernon*, he had no inclination to go over to the *League*, which had so often solicited his Banishment from Court. But whether it were, that being no longer supported since his Masters Death, he fear'd the Hatred and Resentment of the greatest Persons about the King, and even of the King himself, whom he had very much offended during the time of his Favour, in which it was his only business to enrich himself; or were it that he was afraid he shou'd be requir'd to lend some part of that great Wealth, which he had scrap'd together; he, very unseasonably, and more unhandfomly, began to raise Scruples, and seem'd to be troubled with Pangs of Conscience, which never had been thought any great grievance to him formerly; so that he took his leave of the King,

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and retir'd to his Government, with 2 or 3000 Foot, and 500 Horse, which he had brought to the Service of his late Master.

This pernicious Example was follow'd by many others, who under pretence of ordering their Domestick Affairs, ask'd leave to be gone (which the King dar'd not to refuse them) or suffer'd themselves to be seduc'd by the Proffers and Solicitations of the *League*; so that the King, not being in a condition any longer to besiege *Paris*, was forc'd to divide his remaining Troops, comprehending in that number, those which *Sancy* still preserv'd for his Use and Service. Of the whole, he form'd three little Bodies; one for *Picardy*, under the Command of the Duke of *Longueville*, another for *Champaigne*, under the Marshal d' *Aumont*; and himself led the third into *Normandy*, where he was to receive Supplies from *England*; and where, with that small Remainder of his Forces, he gave the first Shock to the Army of the *League*, which at that time, was become more powerful, than ever it had been formerly,

merly, or than ever it was afterwards.

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In effect, those, who after the Bar-  
ricades had their eyes so far open'd,  
as to discover, that the *League* in  
which they were engag'd, was no o-  
ther than a manifest Rebellion against  
their King, seeing him now dead,  
believ'd there was no other Interest  
remaining on their side, but that of  
Religion, and therefore reunited  
themselves with the rest, to keep out  
a Heretick Prince from the Possession  
of the Crown. And truly this pre-  
sence became at that time so very  
plausible, that an infinite number of  
*Catholiques*, of all Ranks and Quali-  
ties, dazled with so specious an ap-  
pearance, made no doubt, but that it  
was better for them to perish, than to  
endure that he whom they believ'd  
obstinate in his Herefie, shou'd ascend  
the Throne of *St. Lewis*; and were de-  
sirous that some other King might be  
elected. Nay farther, there were  
some of them, who took this occasi-  
on, once more, to press the Duke  
of *Mayenne*, that he wou'd assume  
that Regal Office, which it wou'd be

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ease for him to maintain, with all the Forces of the united Catholiques, of which he already was the Head ; but that Prince, who was a prudent man, fearing the dangerous consequences of so bold an Undertaking, lik'd better at the first, to retain for himself all the Essentials of Kingship, and to leave the Title of it to the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was a Prisoner, and whom he declar'd King, under the Name of *Charles* the Tenth, by the Council of the Union.

At this time it was, that there were scatter'd through all the Kingdom, a vast number of scandalous Pamphlets, and other Writings, in which the Authors of them pretended to prove, that *Henry* of *Bourbon*, stood lawfully excluded from the Crown ; those who were the most eminent of them, were the two Advocates general for the *League*, in the Parliament of *Paris* ; *Lewis d'Orleans*, and *Anthony Hotman*. The first, was Author of that very seditious Libel, call'd *The English Catholique*. And the second, wrote a Treatise, call'd *The Right of the Uncle against*

gainst the Nephew, in the Succession of the Crown. But there happen'd a pleasant Accident, concerning this: *Francis Hotman* a Civilian, and Brother to the Advocate, seeing this Book, which pass'd from hand to hand in *Germany*, where he then was, maintain'd with solid Arguments and great Learning; *The Right of the Nephew against the Uncle*; and made manifest in an excellent Book, which he publish'd on this Subject, the Weakness and false Reasoning of his Adversaries Treatise, without knowing that it was written by his Brother, who had not put his Name to it.

The *League* having a King, to whom the Crown of right belong'd, after *Henry* the Fourth his Nephew, in case he had surviv'd him, by this Pretence increas'd in Power: because the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, who, during the Life of the late King their Ally, durst not declare openly against him, for his Rebellious Subjects; now, after his Death, acknowledging this *Charles* the Tenth for King, made no difficulty to send Supplies to the Duke

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Duke of *Mayenne*, insomuch that he, after having publish'd through all *France*, a Declaration made in *August*, by which he exhorts all *French* Catholicks to reunite themselves with those, who would not suffer an Heretique to be King, had rais'd at the beginning of *September*, an Army of 25000 Foot and 8000 Horse.

With these Forces he pass'd the *Seine* at *Vernon*, marching directly towards the King, who after he had been receiv'd into *Pont del Arch*, and *Diepe*, which Captain *Rolet*, and the Commander *de Chates*, had surrendered to him; made a show of besieging *Rouen*, not having about him above 7 or 8000 Men. This so potent an Army of the *Leaguers*, compos'd of *French* and *Germans*, *Lorrainers* and *Walloons*, which he had not imagin'd could have been so soon assembled, and which was now coming on to overwhelm him; constrain'd him to retire speedily towards *Diepe*, where he was in danger to have been incompass'd round without any possibility of Escape, but only by Sea into *England*, if the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken

ken up the resolution, as he ought to have done, from the first moment when he took the Field, to pursue him eagerly and without the least delay. But while he proceeding with his natural slowness, which was his way of being wise, trifled out his time in long deliberations, when he shou'd have come to Action, he gave leisure to the King to fortifie his Camp at *Arques*, a League and half from *Diepe*; inclosing with strong retrenchments the Castle, and the *Bourg* situated on the Brow of an Hill, which overlooks the little River of *Bethune*, the Mouth of which forms the Haven that belongs to *Diepe*.

He had scarcely finish'd this great work, wherein all his Army was employed, after the Example of their King, during three days with incredible diligence; when the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had squandred away his time, yet once again, in retaking those little Places round about, of which the King had lately possess'd himself, drew near to *Arques*, with purpose to dislodge him. But when he had observ'd that he was too strong  
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on that side to be forc'd, he turn'd on the Right Hand, passing the *Bethune* somewhat higher, and went to post himself on the other Hill, which is over against *Arques*, with the River betwixt both Parties; from whence he might more easily attacque the *Bourg* below, and possess himself of *Polet*, the *Fauxbourg* of *Diepe*, on the same side.

But the foresight of the King had provided for all Events in every place; for he had carried on his Retrenchments as far as an Hospital for sick People, called the *Maladery*, near the River, and plac'd *Chatillon*, Colonel of the Foot, with 900 Men in *Polet*, which also was retrench'd. In the mean time, the Duke having fix'd his resolution to win the *Fauxbourg*, and to force the Quarters at *Arques*, appear'd in Battalia the sixteenth of *September*, on the Hills, march'd the one half of his Army at day-break towards *Polet*, and lodg'd the other half at the Village of *Martinslife*, in the Vally, to attacque the fortifi'd *Maladery*.

The two attempts which he made that day, prov'd very unsuccessful to him :

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him: For the King, who in Person hastned to *Poict*, putting himself at the Head of his Forces, on the outside of the Retrenchments, maintain'd the Skirmish with great bravery during the whole day, the Enemy not daring all the while to close with him, nor being able to gain the least inch of ground from him, and at last, forc'd them to retire shamefully in the Night, into the ruins of a Village which was burn'd, after having kill'd and made Prisoners a great number of their most forward men. And the next morning, his Soldiers encourag'd by his presence, and by the contempt which they had of their cowardly Enemies, went to attacke them in their barricaded Village, where they kill'd above an hundred of them, without the loss of a single man.

Those of the Enemy, who were posted at *Martinglife*, behav'd themselves much better than their Fellows, and accordingly they came off with greater loss: For having maintain'd the skirmish for some time, and endeavouring to dislodge those, who had lin'd the Hedges that were near  
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the River, they drew out a great detachment of their Men, who gave an Assault to the *Corps de garde* of the *Maladery*, in hope to carry the Retrenchments. But the *Mareschal de Byron*, who commanded in *Arques*, and who was advanc'd to the *Maladery*, to sustain those who defended it, gave orders to the Grand Prior of *France* and *Damville*, to charge those bold Leaguers, with a chosen Squadron of his bravest Men; who gave in upon them with so much fury, that he forc'd them back to *Martinglise* in much disorder, after having kill'd them 150 of their best Soldiers, and wounded a much greater number. The Cornet of the Duke *de Nemours* was taken in this Fight, and 20 Gentlemen of Note made Prisoners.

This double Misfortune having discourag'd the Army of the League, the Duke of *Mayenne* lay still four or five days together in his Quarters, that he might give his Soldiers a little time to recover of their Fright; after which, having reassembled all his Forces, he commanded them to pass the River somewhat

what after Midnight, in order to attack the Retrenchments, from which some of them had been repuls'd so vigorously, and which he now hop'd he might carry by surprise: For this Attempt was to be made at break of Day, and with his whole Army, which was thrice the number of the Royalists. But the King having had timely notice of his Design, was gone in Person into the Trenches two or three hours before day, and had dispos'd all things in good order for their Reception; having strongly man'd the Trenches with his Infantry, and drawn up his Cavalry without the Lines, to break the first Onset of the Enemy.

This hindred not the Duke of *Mayenne* from pursuing his Enterprize, till he brought it to an Ingagement; which was very long, and exceeding sharp betwixt the two Armies. The Kings Cavalry, gain'd immediately some Advantage against that of the League. The Grand Prieur, who was afterwards Count of *Auvergne*, and Duke of *Angoulesme*, having kill'd with his Pistol, the *Sieur de Sagonne*,

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*gonne*, who was Colonel of the Leagu's Light Horſe, drove back that Squadron, conſiſting of four or five hundred men, as far as the Standard of the *Union*; and the Duke of *Aumale*, who with a Groſs of fix hundred Horſe, had put him to the Retreat, together with three Troops of Men at Arms, who ſuſtain'd him as far as to the edge of the Retrenchments, was then conſtrain'd to give back himſelf in ſome diſorder, to get out of danger from the Cannon, which furiously plai'd upon his Squadron. But the ſecond Onſet, which the Duke of *Mayenne* commanded to be given by the Lanſquenets of *Colalte*, and *Tremble-court*, having the Count of *Belin* at their Head, ſuſtain'd on the Right, by the Duke of *Nemours* (who had brought from his Government of *Lions* three thouſand Foot, with a brisk Body of Cavalry) and on the Left, by the Duke of *Aumale*, with twelve hundred Horſe, was much more ſucceſſful.

For while they were furiously combating, both on the Right and Left, with the *French* and *Swiſſes* of *Galati*

*Galati*, and *Meru Montmorancy-Darville* their Colonel, the *Lansquenets* of the League, whether it were by Stratagem, or through Cowardise, cried out to the Royallists, who defended that Quarter, that they wou'd come over to their Side, and were thereupon receiv'd within the Lines. Their Captains in like manner, made solemn Protestation to serve the King, provided they might have Security, that their Musters should be pay'd, which was promis'd them by the King. But while that gallant Prince went hastily from place to place, giving out his Orders to repulse the Enemy, these perfidious People, observing that the Duke of *Nemours* had broken the Battalion of the *Swisses*, immediately turn'd their Arms against those who had receiv'd them; and possess'd themselves of that part of the Lines, which they deliver'd to the Leaguers, who pursuing their Fortune, made themselves Masters of the *Maladery*. Infomuch, that the Kings Forces having at the same time to deal with their Enemies who were without, and those who were

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within ; if the Duke of *Mayenne*, whose business it was to have sustain'd those who made the Attacke with the Gros of his Army, had taken hold of that happy Opportunity, to break into the Lines after them, with all his Forces, 'tis exceeding probable, that the greater number must have oppress'd the less, by multitudes pour'd in upon them, and that he had that day obtain'd an absolute and decisive Victory.

But as he never did any thing in haste, but when he fled for safety of his Life, his March was too slow, to make fitting use of so fair an Occasion, where also his good Fortune depended on his Speed ; which occasion'd the loss of that Advantage. For the Count of *Chastillon* on the one side, running to the Succour of the King with the two Regiments, which were in *Arques* ; and on the other side the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the brave *La Noüe*, ranging themselves with their Gendarmery by his side ; that valiant Prince, who had already rallied the greatest part of his Souldiers, whom the Surprise had

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had affrighted and put into disorder, so furiously charg'd the Regiments of *Colalte*, and *Tremblecour*, that they were forc'd to quit the Retrenchments and the *Maladery*, with more speed than they had enter'd them, and to retreat towards the Duke of *Mayenne*, who seem'd by his heavy March and slow Advance, as if his Business was only to receive them, and not to sustain and second them. And, at the same time, the Cannon of the Castle, which had him fair before them, playing terribly into his Army, constrained him to take his way back to his Quarters, and leave the Victory to the King, who still maintain'd the Possession of *Arques*, from which his Enemies had endeavour'd to dislodge him.

And what was yet a greater disgrace to the Duke of *Mayenne*, four or five days after this, fetching a long compass, and posting himself before *Diepe*, with purpose of besieging it, he was himself besieg'd by the little Army of the King, who being lodg'd out of the Town over against his Camp, ply'd him night and day with

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perpetual Alarms, without his daring once to come forth and make his Approaches. Insomuch, that after ten days stay, without having perform'd any thing, he rais'd this pretended Siege, re-pass'd the River, and retir'd into *Picardy*, under pretence that his Presence was necessary in those Parts, to hinder the associated Towns of that Province, from putting themselves into the Protection of the *Spaniards*, who were labouring under-hand, to beguile the Simplicity of those poor People.

This was the success of that Enterprize of the League, which, with their thirty thousand men, boasted that they would take the King of *Navarre*, or the *Bearnois*, as those Rebels insolently call'd him, and bring him Prisoner to *Paris*, where the Dutchess of *Montpensier* and other Ladies had already hir'd Windows and Balconies in *St. Dennis-Street*, from whence they might have the Pleasure, to see him grace the Triumph of the Duke de *Mayenne* with his Captivity. But God had otherwise ordain'd, and that memorable Fight  
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at *Arques*, wherein, according to all humane probability, the King with that handful of men, shou'd have have fallen under the weight of so formidable a Power, was the fatal point of declination to the League. For though their General had not lost above seven or eight hundred men in that Engagement, yet he lost in it, the Honour and Reputation of the party, which since that day, never did any thing considerable, but what made for the glory of their Conqueror ; by furnishing him with new occasions, to make appear his Clemency in pardoning, or his Valour in subduing them, which succeeded not long afterwards, to his immortal Fame.

For as soon as he had receiv'd the Succours, which he expected from *England*, of four thousand men ; and that the Duke of *Longueville*, and Marshal *Biron* had joyn'd him with their Forces, which they brought from *Picardy* and *Champaigne*, he march'd upward against the Course of the *Seine*, as far as *Meulan*, where perceiving that the Duke of *Mayenne*

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(who might have marched directly towards him, if his Heart had serv'd him for the Combat) appear'd not in those Parts, he pass'd the River, and on the thirty first of *October*, took up his Quarters in the sight of *Paris*, at the Villages of *Iffy*, *Vaugirard*, *Montrouge* and *Gentilly*, with resolution, the next morning to attaque the Fauxbourgs of that great City, which the *Parisians* had fortified.

In order to which, he divided all his Infantry into three Bodies, that the Assault might be made at the same time, in three several places. The first under Marshal *de Biron*, on the side of the Fauxbourgs *St. Marceau*, and *St. Victor*; the next, commanded by Marshal *d' Aumont*, assisted by *Damville* the Colonel of the *Swisses*, and *Bellegard* the Grand Escuyer, at the Head of the Fauxbourg *St. Jacques*, and at that of *St. Michael*; and the third led on by the *Sieurs de Chastillon* and *La Nôve*, right over against the Gates of *St. Germain*, *Buffy*, and *Nesle*. They were sustain'd by as many gross Squadrons of Cavalry; at the Head of which, was the Count

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Count *de Soissons*, on the right hand, the Duke of *Longueville* on the left, and the King himself in the midst; on the side of the *Fauxbourg St. Jacques*: and four pieces of Cannon follow'd each of these great Bodies, to discharge against the Gates of the City, so soon as the *Fauxburgs* should be won.

Never was any Enterprize better laid; so that the success of it already seem'd infallible. For besides the strength of the Assailants without the Town, they held a secret Intelligence within it, which was dextrously manag'd by the President *Nicholas Potier, de Blanc Mesnil*, who who having freed himself out of the Hands of *Buffy*, by a great sum of Money, had gain'd a good number of those whom the Leaguers suspected to be Royallists, and whom they call'd Pollitiques, by whose Assistance, he was to make himself Master of one of the Gates, and then deliver it to the King.

The invincible courage of that President, and his inviolable fidelity, in the service of the Kings his Masters,

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in those troubleſom and rebellious times, will perpetuate his Memory in all Ages, and raiſe a Veneration to his Name in *France*, particularly in *Paris*, his Native Town, which he honour'd as much by his ſingular Vertue, as he was honour'd by it in his Birth, being deſcended from one of the moſt Ancient Families of that Great City. He had the generoſity, for the ſervice of his Prince and the ſafety of the State, to expoſe himſelf to the imminent danger of death, by the fury of the Sixteen. For thoſe brutal Wretches fearing his great parts, his Courage and his Vertue, which they knew was never to be diverted from the plain ways of Honeſty and Honour, put him twice in Priſon, once in the *Baſtile*, and again in the *Tower* of the *Louvre*, where he ran the hazard of his Life, if he had not been deliver'd by the good Offices which were done him by ſome Perſons, who had the reſolution to oppoſe the fury of thoſe Tyrants. And when in proceſs of time, he found he cou'd do no more ſervice to the King in *Paris*, he retir'd to him who made him Preſident of that

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that part of his Parliament which was established at *Chaalons*. He had the happiness to be Son to a Counsellor, who acquir'd so much reputation in the exercise of his Office, that the Chancellor *de l' Hospital* has said of him in one of his Poems, that he deserv'd the Court shou'd erect his Statue in the Temple of Justice; and at this day, after his death, has the honour to be Grandfather to another *Nicholas de Potier*, whom the Wisest and Greatest of all Kings, who understands the merit of Men, and understands also to reward it, has plac'd at the Head of his Parliament of Peers.

All things then being well dispos'd (by means of the Intelligence which was held with the President, *De Blanc Mesnil*) to make the Kings Enterprize succeed; on *All Saints day*, very early in the morning, and under covert of a thick mist, the Fortifications, and the Head of the *Fauxbourg*s were attack'd at once in three several parts, with so much vigor and resolution, that they were all carryed by plain force, in less than an hour. Seven or  
Eight

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Eight Hundred of the Defendants were slain in the Assault, Thirteen Pieces of Cannon were taken, and if the Kings Artillery had come up at the time which he design'd, 'tis certain that this great Prince, who at Seven of the Clock entred the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Jacques*, and was there receiv'd with the loud acclamations of *Vive Le Roy*, had made himself Master of the Quarter of the University, without much difficulty or hazard.

But the *Sieur de Rosne*, who commanded at that time in *Paris*, having had the leisure to fortifie the Gates, by reason of that delay, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, to whom he had given notice of the Kings approach, being entred into the Town the next morning, with all his Forces; the King satisfied himself with letting the *Parisians* know by what he had done, that the News which was industriously spread amongst them of his defeat at *Diepe*, was notoriously false. And after having staid three long hours in Battalia before the Town, as it were, to reproach the weakness or cowardise of their Commanders, who durst

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durst not venture without their Walls, he went to retake, during the Winter, in *Vandomois*, *Tourain*, *Anjou*, *Mayne*, *Perche*, and the *Lower Normandy*, the greatest part of the Towns and Strong Places which held for the League; which now began to destroy it self by the same means which were intended for its preservation. In this following manner.

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Those of the *Union* endeavour'd all they cou'd, to oblige his Holiness and the King of *Spain*, that they wou'd openly espouse their Party, in which at length they succeeded, through the protestations which were made by their Agents at *Rome* and at *Madrid*, that in case they were not speedily and powerfully assisted by both of them, they must of necessity make an Accommodation with the King of *Navarre*; which neither the Pope nor King *Philip* cou'd bear with patience. The First, for fear that *France* shou'd fall under the Dominion of a Prince who was an Heretick: And the Second, because he was desirous to foment the divisions which were amongst us, hoping to make his advantage

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vantage of them, either by reducing the whole Kingdom into his power, or at least by dismembring a great part of it. In this manner, Pope *Sixtus*, as intelligent as he was, being deluded by the Commander of *Diu*, and by his Partners, who made him believe, that the *Navarrois* cou'd not possibly escape from the hands of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had coop'd him up and surrounded him in a corner of *Normandy*, sent Cardinal *Cajetan* his Legat into *France*, who was born Subject to the King of *Spain*, and was also a *Spaniard* in his Principles, and by his Obligations; who came to *Paris* in the beginning of *January*, bringing with him Bills of Exchange for 300000 Crowns, together with an Express Order, to cause a Catholick King to be Elected.

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On the other side, *Don Bernardin de Mendoza*, King *Philip's* Embassador, being supported by the Faction of the Sixteen, the Preachers of the *League*, and the Monks, of which the greatest part were intirely devoted to the *Spaniard*, made, in the General Council of the *Union*, on the part of his Master,

fter, very plausible and advantageous Propositions for the ease of the People, with promise of assisting them with all the Forces of that Monarchy : Proteſting alſo, that his King, who was Maſter of ſo many Countries, the Titles of which he haughtily ſet forth, pretended not to that of *France*, either for himſelf or for his Son ; and that in recompence of thoſe great Succours which he intended to give the Catholicks, he demanded nothing more, than the honour to be ſolemnly declar'd, *The Protector of France*. Now this was in effect the very thing which moſt contributed to the ruin of the *League*, and the ſafeguard of the State ; becauſe this artificial Propoſition, joyn'd with the Inſtructions of the Legat, fully opened the Duke of *Mayenne's* Eyes, and gave him the means of diſcovering the intentions of the *Spaniards*, whoſe deſign was to eſtabliſh their Kings Authority on the ruins of his ; and conſequently , he took up a firm reſolution of oppoſing their endeavours, as he always did from that time forward, by the advice of ſome honeſt men about him,  
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and particularly *Monsieur de Villeroy*.

That wise and able Minister of State, who serv'd five of our Kings, with so much Fidelity and Reputation, having observ'd, that by reason of some ill Offices which were done him to the Late King his Master, he cou'd no longer remain with safety in the Towns which obeyed him, nor at his own House during the War, and that he had not been able to procure so much as a Passport for his departure out of the Kingdom, was constrained to make his retreat to *Paris* with his Father, and to enter into the Party of the *Union*. But it may be truly said of him that he entred into it, as did the Loyal and Wise *Husbai* into that of *Absalom* at *Jerusalem*; there to destroy all the devices and pernicious Counsels of the wicked *Achitophel*, which only tended to the total ruin of *David* the lawful King, against whom the Capital City of his Kingdom was revolted. In the same manner, the *Sieur de Villeroy* embrac'd, not out of pure necessity, the Party of the *League*, and plac'd not himself with the Duke of *Mayenne* in *Paris*,  
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who was in Actual War with his King, but only to obtain the means, by his good Counsels, to undermine the purposes of the *Spaniards*; who under pretence of endeavouring the preservation of Religion in *France*, design'd the Subversion of the State. And as *David* thought it fitting, that *Hushai* shou'd continue at *Jerusalem*, without leaving *Absalom*, because he well knew that he would be more serviceable to him there, than if he kept him near his Person; in like manner *Henry* the Fourth, who knew the dexterity and faithfulness of *Monsieur de Villeroy*, wou'd not that he shou'd go out from *Paris*, after the death of his Predecessor, or be with him, because he was satisfied that this Great Man, would be able to do him greater Service by staying with the Duke of *Mayenne*, where by his wise Remonstrations, and the credit which he had acquir'd with that Prince, he might break the measures of the *Spaniards* and their Adherents.

He continued this politique management to the end, and principally on that occasion, whereon depended  
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either the felicity or the unhappiness of this Kingdom, according to the resolution which shou'd be taken : For the Duke of *Mayenne* having ask'd him his opinion, in relation to what the Legat and *Mendoza* had propos'd, he gave him easily to understand, that all those plausible Propositions which were made by the Legat, by *Mendoza*, and the Sixteen, were intended only to deprive him of his Authority, and to subject him, and the whole Party of the *Union*, under the domination of the *Spaniards*, who wou'd not fail to usurp upon the *French*, and to perpetuate the War, thereby to maintain their own greatness. That in his present condition, without suffering an Head to be constituted above him, he had War and Peace at his disposing, together with the glory of having sustain'd, himself alone, both Religion and the State ; but by acknowledging the King of *Spain* for Protector of the Kingdom, he shou'd only debase himself, under the proud Title of a powerful Master, who wou'd serve his own interests too well, to leave him  
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the means, of either continuing the War, or of concluding a Peace, to the advantage of his Country.

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There needed no more to perswade a man so knowing, and so prudent, as was the Duke of *Mayenne*: 'Tis to be confess'd, that he was a Self-lover, which is natural to all men; but he was also a Lover of the Common Good, which is the distinguishing character of an Honest Man. Since he cou'd not himself pretend to the Crown, which he clearly saw it was impossible for him to obtain, for many reasons, he was resolv'd no Foreigner should have it, nor even any other but that only Person to whom it belong'd rightfully, Religion being first secur'd. He thereupon firmly purpos'd from that time, both in regard of his particular interest, and that of the State, to oppose whatsoever attempts should be made by the *Spaniards*, or by his own nearest Relations, under any pretence or colour; which was undoubtedly one great cause of the preservation of the State.

For which reason, that he might

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for ever cut off the *Spaniards* from all hope of procuring their Master to be made Protector of the Realm of *France*, and consequently of having in his hands the Government of the Kingdom, and the concernments of the *League*, under this new Title, as the Sixteen, who were already at his Devotion, had design'd; he politickly told them in a full Assembly, that since the cause of Religion was the only thing, for which the *Union* was engag'd in this War which they had undertaken, it wou'd be injurious to the Pope, to put themselves under any other protection than that of his Holiness: Which Proposition was so gladly receiv'd by all, excepting only the Faction of Sixteen, that the *Spaniards* were constrain'd to desist, and to let their pretensions wholly fall.

And to obviate the design of causing any other King to be Elected, besides the Old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, under whose Name he govern'd all things; he procur'd the Parliament to verifie the Ordinance of the Council General of the *Union*, by which that Cardinal was declar'd King, and caus'd

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caus'd him so to be Proclaim'd, in all the Towns and Places of their party ; retaining for himself by the same Ordinance , the Quality and Power of Lieutenant General of the Crown, till the King shou'd be deliver'd from Imprisonment. And at the same time, to ruin the Faction of Sixteen, which was wholly Spaniardiz'd, he broke the Council of the *Union* : Saying, *That since there was a King Proclaim'd, whose Lieutenant he also was, there ought to be no other Council but his, which in duty was to follow him wheresoever he shou'd be.*

Thus the Duke of *Mayenne* having possess'd himself of all Royal Authority, under the imaginary Title of another, and having overcome all the designs of the *Spaniards*, took the Field ; and after having taken in the Castle of *Bois de Vincennes* by composition, which had been invested for a year together, he retook *Pontoise*, and some other places, which hindred the freedom of commerce ; and being afterwards willing to regain all the passages of the *Seine*, thereby to establish the communication of *Paris* with

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*Rouen*, and to have the Sea open, he went to besiege the Fort of *Meulan*, where he lost much time to little purpose ; while the Legat, against whom the Kings Parliament at *Tours* had made a terrible Decree, was labouring at *Paris* with all his might, that no accommodation shou'd be made with the King, not even though he shou'd be converted.

To this effect, seeing that the Faction of Sixteen, and the *Spaniards*, were extremely weaken'd, after what the Duke of *Mayenne* had done against them, and that the Royalists, who were generally call'd *Politiques*, had resum'd courage, and began to say openly, that it was the common duty of all good Subjects, to unite themselves with the Catholicks who follow'd the King ; he oppos'd them, with a Declaration lately made against them by the factious Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, on the tenth of *February*, in the same year 1590. For by that Decree it was ordain'd, *That all Doctors and Batchelors shou'd have in abhorrence, and strongly combat, the pestilential and damnable Opinions which*  
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*the Workers of Iniquity endeavour'd, with all their force, to insinuate daily into the Minds of Ignorant and Simple Men, principally these Propositions. That Henry de Bourbon might, and ought to be honour'd with the Title of King : That in Conscience men might hold his Party, and Pay him Taxes, and acknowledge him for King, on condition he turn'd Catholick, &c. And then they added, That in case any one shall refuse to obey this Decree, the Faculty declares him an Enemy to the Church of God, Perjur'd and Disobedient to his Mother, and, in conclusion, cuts him off from her Body, as a gangreen'd Member which corrupts the rest.*

A Decree of this force was of great service to the Bigots of the *League*, because it depriv'd the wiser sort of the License they had taken, to perswade the people to make peace: And the Legat, that he might hinder any from taking it for the time to come, bethought himself, that a new Oath should be impos'd on the Holy Evangelists, betwixt his hands, in the Church of the *Augustines*, to be taken by all the Officers of the Town,

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and the Captains of the several Wards, which was : *That they shou'd always persevere in the Holy Union ; that they shou'd never make Peace or Truce with the King of Navarre , and that they shou'd employ their Lives and Fortunes in deliverance of their King Charles the Tenth : Which was also enjoyn'd to be taken by all the Officers of Parliament , and the other Companies, no one man daring to oppose it : So much had Fear prevail'd over Courage and Virtue at that time, even in those who knowing and detesting in their hearts the injustice of that Oath , ought rather to have dyed, than basely to have acted against their Consciences.*

But the good success of the Kings Arms, was in the mean time preparing the means for them, of receiving one day an happy dispensation from himself, of that abominable Oath by which 'tis most manifest they never cou'd be ty'd. For after having made himself Master of all the *Lower Normandy* , he made haste to relieve the Fort of *Meulan* , and thereby constrain'd the Duke of *Mayenne* to raise his

his Siege. After which, having taken the Bridg of *Poissy* by plain force, and in view of the Enemy; he led his Victorious Army before *Dreux*, which occasion'd the memorable Battel of *Ivry*.

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Since the taking of that Town had extremely streightned *Paris*, by excluding it on that side from the passage and the commerce of *Normandy*, *La Beauce*, and the Country about *Chartres*; the Duke of *Mayenne* resolv'd to relieve it with all his Forces. For this purpose, having receiv'd a recruit of 1500 Lansquenets and 500 Carabines, which King *Philip* (who at the same time publish'd his *Manifesto* in justification of his Arms) had given to the *League* by the Duke of *Parma*, under the conduct of the Count of *Egmont*, he pass'd the *Seine* at the Bridg of *Mant*, and advanc'd towards *Dreux*; yet resolving only to put succours into the Town, and to keep always on this side the River of *Eure*, that he might avoid the hazard of a Battel. But upon the false intelligence which he receiv'd from his Scouts, that the King (who had

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really quitted the Siege because he design'd to Fight him) was gone from *Nonancour*, and had taken on the left hand the way to *Verneuil*, as if his intentions had been to return to the *Lower Normandy*, he was constrain'd, against his own opinion, by the clamours of the Superior Officers, and especially by the young Count *Philip of Egmont*, to pass over the Bridge of *Iury*, and to pursue the King in his feign'd retreat, till he brought him to a Battel.

But as the King, who wish'd for nothing more than to come to a pitch'd Field with him (which he fear'd he would have declin'd) was pleasingly surpriz'd to find that he had already pass'd the River; so the Duke was not a little amaz'd, when he perceiv'd that, far from shunning the Engagement, the King was marching directly towards him, and that he must be forc'd to make good his challenge. But as the day was already far spent, that every moment there came in to the King some Gentlemen or Soldiers from the neighbouring Garrisons, who were desirous to have their share of honour in the Battel,

rel, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* on his side mov'd not forward, but only kept his ground, observing the nature of the Place, and what advantages might be taken from its situation ; the two Armies which were but a League distant from each other, after some light skirmishes, retir'd to their Camps, resolv'd on both sides to decide the quarrel the next day, which was *Wednesday* the fourteenth of *March*.

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Betwixt the River of *Eure* and that of *Itton*, which passes by *Evreux*, there lyes right over against *Ivry* a fair Plain, of about a League in breadth, free from Hedges, Ditches, Mounds, or even so much as Bushes, to hinder an open passage through it, on all sides, bounded on the East with a little Wood, and the River of *Eure*, on which the Burrough of *Ivry* is situate ; and on the West by the Villages of *St. André* and *Fourcaneville*, where the King was quarter'd the Night before the Battel : In this Plain, the Royal Army, and that of the *League*, were drawn up almost at the same time, betwixt the Hours of Eight and

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and Nine, in the following order.

The King advancing five or six hundred paces before the Villages of St. *André* and *Fourcanville*, which he had at his back, form'd his gross Squadron of 600 Horse in five Divisions, each of 120: The first of which, wherein he intended to Fight in Person, was compos'd of Princes, Dukes, Counts, Marqueffes, Blew Ribbands, and great Lords, for the most part Catholiques, the strength of his Army consisting chiefly in those of that Religion: For when it was known that the *League*, for the maintenance of their cause, was turn'd *Spaniard*, the *French* Nobility and Gentry, whose hearts were too generous to suffer that such a reproach shou'd be fastned on them, abandon'd that Party, and every day came over in great numbers to the King: So that he soon found himself in a condition of overpow'ring the *League* and *Spaniard*, with the assistance of their Arms, even though there had not been an *Huguenot* in his Army; who in reality were but an inconsiderable number, in comparison of that great multitude of Soldiers,

diers, and especially Gentlemen Catholiques, which came in by whole Troops together from all parts, and made up almost all the strength of his Army. And that which drew down the Blessing and Protection of God Almighty on it, was, that the day before the Engagement, when it was evident that the Enemy, who had pass'd the River, cou'd not avoid coming to a Battel; these Princes, Lords, Gentlemen-Catholiques, and Soldiers, who follow'd their example, were all at the celebration of Mass at *Nonancour*, and there communicated together. The King, for his part, having already in his Soul great inclinations to be converted, protested the same day to those Princes and Great Persons, that he humbly pray'd the Almighty God, who is the searcher of all hearts, to dispose of his Person in that bloody day, accordingly as he shou'd please to judge it necessary for the universal good of Christendom, and in particular for the safety and repose of *France*.

With these pious thoughts, he plac'd himself the next morning at the

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the Head of his gross Squadron, of six hundred Horse; he was flank'd on the right hand with a gross Battalion of two *Swisse* Régiments, rais'd from the Cantons of *Soleure*; and on the left, with another Battalion of two Régiments, of the Canton of *Glaris* and of *Grisons*; these Battalions being sustain'd, that on the right hand, by the Regiment of Guards and of *Brigneux*, and that on the left, by the Régiments of *Vignoles*, and of *St. Jean*. The Duke of *Montpensier* follow'd them, drawing a little towards the left, with his Squadron of betwixt 5 and 600 Horse, betwixt two Régiments, one of *Lansquenets*, and the other of *Swisses*, cover'd by two Battalions, which were the Flower of the French Infantry; the Marshal d' *Aumont* clos'd his left, having in his Squadron 300 good Horse, flank'd with two *French* Régiments, and before him, the light Horse, in two Troops, each consisting of 200 men, commanded by the Grand Prior their Colonel, and by *Givry* their Marshal de *Camp*; and these last had on their right hand

hand, on the same Line, the Baron *de Biron* ; who, with his Squadron of 250 Horse, cover'd that of the Duke of *Montpensier* ; and the Artillery of four Cannons and two Culverines, was plac'd upon their Left.

On the other side, the Marshal *de Biron* , with 250 Horse, and two French Regiments which flank'd him, stood on the right hand of the gross Squadron of the King, after the Regiment of Guards and that of *Brigneux* ; but somewhat backward, that his Men might be for a Body of reserve : And the Count *Theodorick de Schomberg*, who commanded the Squadron of Reiters, flank'd in the same manner by two small Bodies of *French* Infantry, made the right Wing a little hollow'd, in form of a Crescent, like the left. Thus was the Royal Army Marshall'd, which consisted of betwixt 9 and 10000 Foot, and 2800 Horse, divided into seven Squadrons, each of them with a Platoon of Forlorn Hope before them.

The Army of the *League* appear'd at the same time but posted on somewhat higher Ground, and more backward



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ward towards the River, than it was the day before; being Marshall'd much after the manner of the Kings Forces, unless it were, that being more numerous, as consisting of 4 or 5000 Horse, and of 12000 Foot, the Wings of it advanc'd farther, and bent more inward, in the form of a larger Crescent. The Duke of *Mayenne* with his Cornet of about 300 Horse, (to which the Duke of *Nemours*, his Brother by the Mothers side, joyn'd his own Squadron, of the like number of Gendarms) plac'd himself just opposite to that of the King, in the very bottom of his Crescent, betwixt two gross Squadrons, each of them of 6 or 700 *Lanciers*; which were *Flemmings* and *Walloons*, commanded by Count *Egmont*. They were flank'd on their Right and Left, with two gross Battalions of *Swisses*, rais'd from the Catholique Cantons, cover'd with *French Infantry*, and flank'd with two Squadrons of *Walloon Carabins*.

Those were follow'd by two other Squadrons, one of 5 or 600 Horse on the Right hand, and the other by 3  
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or 400 on the Left ; where their Artillery was plac'd, consisting of two Culverines, and two Bastard Cannons. The Light Horse-men, commanded by the Baron de Rosne, extended themselves on the right hand, before a gross Squadron of Gendarms, which sustain'd them, and two Squadrons of Reiters, led by the Duke of Brunswick, and Bassompierre stood on the right Wing, with the Regiment of Horse, commanded by the Chevalier de Aumale, who put them under the Conduct of his Lieutenant, that he might have liberty to fight by the Duke of Mayenne's side, in that formidable gross of 1800 Lanciers, which were oppos'd to the Kings Squadron, not so strong as themselves by two thirds, and only arm'd with Sword and Pistol, there not being in the whole Army of the King, so much as one single Lance. The Lansquenets of the *League*, and the rest of the *French Infantry*, were divided into many Battalions, which, like those of the King, were plac'd on the Flanks of their Squadrons ; betwixt whom, and their Battalions, there

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there was not interval enough, to make room for the Reiters, when they were to wheel about after discharging, which occasion'd their great disorder.

The two Armies being thus Marshall'd about ten of the Clock, stood viewing, and considering each other for some time, but in very different Postures. There was scarcely any thing to be seen in that of the *League*, but Gold and Silver Embroideries, upon costly and magnificent Coats of Velvet, of all sorts of Colours, and an infinite number of Banderolles fluttering about that thick Forrest of *Lances*, which seem'd to threaten the Overthrow of their Enemies at the first Shock, before they could come up so close, as to single out their Men, and discharge Brest to Brest; or even so much as to hold out their Pistols. On the other side, the Kings Army had no other Ornament than Iron; but their Joy sparkled in their Eyes, and all the Soldiers march'd to the Fight, as to a certain Victory; especially that invincible Troop of 2 or 3000 Gentlemen, which were the Flower of the Army;

Army; and whom the King himself, in plain Armour like the rest, inspir'd with Vigor by his only Presence, and the sprightfulness of his Behaviour.

In the mean time, when he had observ'd, that if he approach'd not nearer to the Enemy, there wou'd be no Battel, because they were resolv'd on the other side, to stand their Ground, without quitting their advantageous Post; he advanc'd towards them above 150 Paces, leaving no more distance betwixt the two Armies, than what was necessary for the Charge; and by that motion, which he made with so much judgment, and Military Skill, drawing somewhat on the left hand, that he might have the Wind in his Back, which otherwise had blown the Smoak of the Powder in the Faces of his Soldiers, he came up so close to the Enemy, that it was no longer possible to avoid the Battel.

Then putting on his Head-piece, the Crest of which was shaded with three white Plumes, which might easily be discern'd from far, and being

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mounted on a large *Neapolitan* Courser, whose Colour was of a brown Bay, adorn'd with a Tuft of Feathers, which proudly distinguish'd him from the rest; he made a short Ejaculation to God, which was follow'd by the loud Cries of *Vive le Roy*. As to those Florid, long Orations, which our Historians, on this occasion, make for him and the Duke of *Mayenne*, as if they had spoken them at the Head of their Armies, 'tis most certain, they were invented in the Studies of their Authors. For one who was present in the Battel, has assur'd us, that the King spoke only with his Gesture and his Looks, to those who were more remote, and said no more but these few Words, to the great Lords, who charg'd with him in the first Rank of his Squadron. *See, my Companions, the Enemy before us; Now we have found them, our business is to fight them, and God is for us. If you loose the sight of your Colours, look about for my Plume of Feathers, and rally there: you will find it in the direct way to Honour and to Victory.*

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For the Duke of *Maverne*, who was both a great Captain, and in spite of his natural Heaviness, a brave Soldier, when he was once come to a Resolution of fighting, all he did, was to show to the first ranks of his Army, the Crucifix, which a jolly Fryar, who had said publick Prayers, carried before him: He would have it understood by this only gesture, without loss of time in tedious speeches, which could never have been understood, that it was for Religion that they fought against Heretiques and Promoters of Heresy, who were the declar'd Enemies of Jesus Christ, and of his Church.

It was almost Noon, when the King was told that *Charles d' Hamieres*, Marquess d' *Ancre*, he who was in part the cause of gaining the Battel of *Senlis*, was coming up within a quarter of a League of the Field of Battel, with 2 or 300 Gentlemen, whom he brought with him out of *Picardy*; in which Country, almost all the Noblemen and Gentlemen, who had been the first to sign the *League*, had now totally relinquish'd

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it. But that the courage of the Soldiers might not cool, who were eager to be at blows with the Enemy, he satisfi'd himself with bidding the *Sieur de Vic*, who was Sergeant Major General, to show them the Post he had appointed for them, which immediately, on their Arrival, they took up, with resolution to signalize themselves that day. This being order'd, without more delay he gave the sign of Battel, and the work began with the discharge of their Cannon, which was so well perform'd by the Master of the Ordnance, *Philibert de la Guiche*, that before those of the *League* began to play, nine Cannonades were given by the Royalists, which did great execution on the Enemy, and particularly shatter'd the Squadrons of the Reiters.

Thus, after three or four volleys on either side, two gross Squadrons, made up of *Italians* and *French*, and flank'd with *Lansquenets*, advanc'd, and came up to the charge, against the Left Wing of the Royal Army, that they might put themselves under covert from the storm of the Great Guns.

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Guns. But the Marshal *d'Aumont*, who was in that Wing, having advanc'd likewise the better half of the way to meet them, drove upon them so furiously, that they turn'd their backs, and pursuing them with slaughter to the entry of the little Wood, which bounds the Plain, he immediately return'd to his Post, according to the Orders which he had receiv'd from the King.

While these men were so ill treated, the Reiters on the Right Hand, being desirous to gain the Cannon, by which their Squadron had been so miserably torn, went to Charge the Kings light Horsemen with so much fury, that they forc'd them immediately to give back; and at the same time two other Squadrons of *Flemmings* and *Walloons*, seeing them already shaken, advanc'd to break them. But the Baron of *Biron* on the one side, and the Duke of *Montpensier* on the other, charging them on the Flanks, first stopp'd them, then broke in upon them, and afterwards pierc'd quite through them; and the Light Horse, who had this time given them to

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rally, returning to the charge, the Reiters gave ground, most basely abandoning the *Walloons*; and not being able to make their retreat, or rather to save themselves, through the intervals which were too narrow, they overturn'd their own men, and put all things in a terrible confusion, notwithstanding the care which was us'd by the Duke of *Brunswick*, their Colonel, who was never able to rally them, and therefore put himself into the Squadron of *Walloons*; desiring rather to perish with those valiant men, who were inclos'd on all sides, and cut in pieces, than to save himself by flying with his own Runaways.

In this manner the Battel was maintain'd on either part, with extreme obstinacy for some time, and all the Squadrons of both Armies fell in so vigorously, that they were mix'd with each other; excepting only that of *Mareschal de Biron*, who with his Body of Reserve, made it his business to hinder the Enemy from rallying, which he perform'd. But that which decided the fortune of this great day, and assur'd the Victory to the King,

was

was his own Heroick Valour, which he made conspicuous, by combating that formidable Squadron of 1800 Lancers, which the Duke of *Mayenne* had made so strong for no other reason, than to charge with great advantage of number upon that of the King, not at all doubting but if he could break that Body, the Victory wou'd be his own.

Observing then that the Reiters were absolutely routed, and fearing lest they shou'd disorder his men, by falling back upon them; he drew after him that great Body of Horse, and caus'd 400 chosen Carabins to advance first, who were all of them arm'd Head and Breast, whom the Count *de Tavannes*, who led them up, commanded to discharge within five and twenty Paces of the first Rank of the Royal Squadron, with intention to clear it. And at the same time, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who appear'd at the Head of his Men, mounted on a *Turkish* Horse, the most beautiful that cou'd be seen, made up furiously, with his Lance couch'd, and follow'd by the gross of

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his Cavalry, to the Kings own Troop, which he believ'd to be already well shaken, by that sudden and terrible Discharge : who, nevertheless, sustain'd the fury of that Shock, keeping firm in their Saddles ; and some there were, who had three Lances broken on them, without looking of their Stirrups.

But the most admirable part of this Encounter, was, that the King advancing twice the length of his Horse before the Front of his Squadron, with his Pistol in his hand, thrust into the midst of that thick Wood of Lances, and charg'd with so much ardour of Courage into their Body, that he gave them to understand by this wonderful Action, he was no less, a most valiant Soldier, than a most expert and great Commander. And indeed, he was so bravely follow'd, by the Princes and Lords of that Squadron, whom his Example had rais'd to emulation, that after an obstinate Dispute, which endured a long quarter of an hour, and was maintain'd with Swords and Pistols, in that confus'd Medly, where the Lances were of  
no

no farther use; this great Squadron of the Duke of *Mayenne*, was broken, dispers'd, and cut in pieces, or wholly routed; neither cou'd the Duke (who that day perform'd all the parts of a valiant Soldier, and a great General, even in the opinion of the King himself) either stay their Flight, or rally them afterwards, with all the endeavours he cou'd use: Infomuch, that seeing himself almost inclos'd, he retir'd amongst the last of his men, to the Bridge of *Ivry*, which he caus'd to be broken down, after he had pass'd the greatest part of his routed Army over it, and then for his own safety fled to *Mant*. The rest, with the Duke of *Nemours*, the Chevalier d' *Annale*, *Rosne*, *Tavannes*, and *Bassompierre*, having taken the way of the Plain, escap'd to *Chartres*.

In the mean time, the Victorious Party were in great trouble for the King, who had vanish'd out of their sight in that gross Squadron of 1800 Lances, into which he had charg'd before the rest; when at length they beheld him returning, and bearing aloft his bloody Sword; having defeat-

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ed three Cornets of *VValloons*, which were left amongst the two Battalions of *Swiffes*, and came desperately upon him, after he had Charg'd through the Duke of *Mayenne's* Squadron. At his appearance, the whole Field of Battel rang with loud Acclamations and Shouts of *Vive Le Roy*. Then, the Victory being assur'd and absolute, no other Enemies remaining in the Field but those *Swiffes*, (for the rest of the Foot, and particularly the Lanfquenets, being forsaken by their Cavalry, had been cut in pieces, excepting those who provided early for their safety) the King, that he might gratifie the Cantons, took them to mercy, on condition they shou'd henceforth keep more faithfully the Treaty of Alliance which they had made with the Crown of *France*, and never more bear Arms against him. After which, being accompanied by the Prince of *Conty*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Count of *St. Paul*, the Marshal *d'Aumont*, and all the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen, he pursued the Enemy as far as *Rosny*, leaving the Body of his Army, which march'd slowly

slowly after him, under the Command  
of the *Mareschal de Biron*.

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This was the success of that famous Battel of *Ivry*, wherein the *League* lost both its reputation and its strength. Almost all the Infantry of that Party was cut in pieces, or taken Prisoners : Of their Cavalry more than 1500 were kill'd upon the place, or drown'd at the Foord of *Ivry*, the passage of which is extremely dangerous. Count *Egmont*, General of the *Spanish* Troops, and *William* of *Brunswick*, Colonel of the *Reiters*, Natural Son to Duke *Henry*, were found amongst the slain, and a short time after honourably interr'd by the King's Order, in the Church of *Eureux* : Besides the *French* Soldiers, whom the King commanded to be spar'd, and who took quarter amongst his Troops, there were above 400 Prisoners of Quality, amongst whom was a Count of *East Friesland*, who fought amongst the *Reiters*, the Baron of *Huren*, the *Sieurs* of *Medavid*, *Bois Dauphin*, *Castelier*, *Fontain Martel*, *Sigogne*, who yielded himself, with the Duke of *Mayenne's* Standard to  
*Rosny*

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*Rosny* (the same who was afterwards Duke *de Sully*) and many other Lords and Gentlemen, as well Foreigners as *French*.

The Cannon, Ammunition, Baggage, and Standard of the *Flemmings*, twenty Cornets, the Standard of the Reiters, and above sixty Ensigns of Foot, without putting into the reckoning the fourscore *Swisse* Colours, which the King sent back to their Superiours, were the illustrious Testimonies of so glorious a Victory; which cost the Conquerour but little Blood: For there were kill'd on the Kings side, of men of Quality, only *Clermont de Entraques*, Captain of the Guards, who was slain near the Person of his Majesty; the Count *de Schomberg*, the Sieurs *de Feuquieres*, *de Crenay*, Cornet to the Duke of *Montpensier*, and *de Longauny*, an old *Norman* Gentleman, aged threescore and twelve years, the only man who was slain by the Cannon of the *League*, and five and twenty or thirty Gentlemen more, who were kill'd in the Kings Squadron. Amongst the Wounded, was *Francis de Daillon*,  
Count

Count *de Lude* (Son to that Prudent and Valiant *Guy de Daillon*, Governour of *Poitou*, who defended *Poitiers* with so much reputation against the Admiral *Coligni*, and preserv'd that Province to the King, with so much Fidelity and Valour against the *Hugonots* and *Leaguers*, to whom he was always a profess'd Enemy) *Henry de Laval*, Marquess *de Nefle*, the Count of *Choisy*, the Sieurs *d'O*, *de Rosny*, *Lauvergne*, *Monlouet*, and about twenty other Gentlemen, who were all cur'd of their Wounds.

That which was yet more wonderfully remarkable, and which demonstrates the peculiar care which God Almighty took of his Majesties rightful Cause, was, that on the same day, *Jean Louis, de Rouche-foucault*, Count of *Randan*, General of the League in *Auvergne*, who besieg'd the Town of *Issoire*, lost both his Life and his little Army; which was entirely defeated by the Marquess of *Curton*, Head of the *Royalists*; and that the Sieur *de Lansac*, who endeavour'd to have surpris'd *Mans* for the League, whose Party, after having  
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once abandon'd it, he had again espous'd, was bravely repuls'd from before the Town. To conclude, since that happy day, the Royal Party had a continu'd series of prosperity, in every Province of *France*, and in a multitude of occasions, which it is not my business to relate particularly; because my Design is only to relate the most essential affairs of the *League*, and not to involve my self too far in the History of *France*, which comprehends much more than I have undertaken.

Following therefore this Model, which I have propos'd to my self, that which I ought to observe on this occasion, is, that this glorious Victory, had caus'd the immediate and total ruine of the *League*; if after the Surrender of *Vernon*, and *Mant*, which yielded the next day, the King, who was now Master of all the Passages of the *Seine*, as far up as *Paris*, had presented himself, with his victorious Army, before that Capital City of his Kingdom, which at that time, was neither provided with Victuals, nor Ammunition, nor Governour, nor Gar-

Garrison, and wherein the People, who found themselves destitute of all these things, were already wavering in a general Consternation. For 'tis exceeding probable, that the Politiques, doubly encourag'd by his Victory and by his Presence, had carry'd it over the Sixteen, and had open'd the Gates to him. And indeed this very Counsel was given him by the wife *La Noüe* ; but whether it were that the Marshal *de Biron*, who had no great inclinations to retire to his Country-House, and mind his Gardening, desir'd to spin out the War, and therefore gave him a contrary Advice ; or that perhaps it was his own Opinion, as not believing himself yet strong enough for such an Attempt, he continued fifteen days at *Mante* , without enterprising any thing against the *Leaguers* ; to whom he gave leisure by that means to recover Courage, and put themselves into a condition of Resistance.

In effect, the false Relations which were spread amongst the People, to sooth them into a Belief, that the Loss which they had receiv'd, was  
not

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not so considerable as was at first reported; the Sermons of their Preachers, the Promises of the *Spaniards*, the Presence of the Legate, and of the Arch-bishop of *Lions*, who not long before had been ransom'd by the League, and the good order which the Duke of *Mayenne* had caus'd to be establish'd in *Paris*, which he left well garrison'd with his Souldiers, before he went from *St. Dennis*, to draw near to the *Low-Countries*, from whence he expected new supplies: all these Considerations put together, buoy'd up their sinking spirits, and gave them new courage, so that there appear'd no manner of commotion in the Town: but all was hush'd and peaceable, and a resolution taken to defend themselves to the last Extremity.

As indeed they did not long time after, during the Siege of *Paris*, so much to the wonder and amazement of Mankind, that it may be plac'd in the number of those extraordinary and admirable accidents which may be call'd the Miracles of History; and which wou'd never enter into the belief

belief of men, if they were not supported with an infinite number of most credible witnesses. For, in conclusion, the King well knowing, that the end of the War, and of the *League*, depended absolutely on the taking of *Paris*, resolv'd to defer no longer the laying hold on that occasion, which he believ'd to be still within his reach, not perceiving that already he had let it slip by his long delay. He departed therefore out of *Mante* on the last of *March*, with his Army, consisting at that time, of 12000 Foot, and betwixt 3 and 4000 Horse, and during the Moneth of *April*, made himself Master of *Corbeil*, *Melun*, *Bray*, *Montereau-faut-Tonne*, *Lagny*, *Beaumont* upon *Oyse*, *Provins*, and the Bridges of *St. Maur*, and *Charenton*.

The Intelligence which he held in *Sens*, having not succeeded, he gave two brisk Assaults to it, in both which, his men were vigorously repuls'd, by the Lord *Chanvallon*, *Jacques de Harlay*, who there commanded for the *League*. Notwithstanding which, that great Prince, who was

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a true lover of all brave men, being afterwards acquainted with his excellent Parts, and his inviolable fidelity, repos'd great confidence in him; insomuch that he plac'd him with the Duke of *Lorrain*, to retain him, as he always did, in the Interests of *France*. But the King, unwilling to loose more time, on a place which was so well defended, and which, if he shou'd take, wou'd contribute nothing to the Execution of his main Design; as also knowing, that by means of the Towns and Bridges, of which he already stood possess'd, he held shut up the four Rivers that supply'd *Paris*; he went from thence, to besiege that City, about the end of the Moneth, without expecting certain Conferences which the *League* propos'd, as he believ'd, either to delay, or to divert him. And that he might have the freedom of sending out Parties through the whole adjoining Country, on both sides of the *Seine*, thereby to hinder the Town from receiving Provisions by Land, he made a Bridge of Boats somewhat below *Conflans*; so that *Paris* was immediately

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ately invested on all Quarters.

There were some, and amongst others *La Noüe*, with the greatest part of the *Hugonots*, who had not much kindness for the *Parisians*, desir'd that the Town might be assaulted as imagining it might be carry'd by plain force at the first attempt, and that the Citizens, who are never so very stout, as when they have got behind their Barricades, wou'd not be altogether so courageous upon the Works. This was their Opinion; but it manifestly appear'd, by the Skirmishes and other Tryals which were made in the beginning of the Siege, and by which, the Kings Party were no great gainers; that those Gentlemen had taken no just measures. *La Noüe* himself, who wou'd needs attacque the *Fauxbourg St. Martin*, was beaten off with loss; and learnt, to his cost, by a Musquet Shot, which wounded him in the Thigh, and disabled him from fighting, that he had to do with galliant men, who were neither to be vanquish'd at the Breach, nor by scaling, so easily as he believ'd. There were at that

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time in *Paris*, not above two hundred and thirty thousand Souls; because almost half the Inhabitants apprehending the consequences of a Siege, were departed out of it and the wealthier sort of Citizens, who had the Courage to continue there, had sent off their Wives and Children to other Places. But a Garrison which the *Parisians* had receiv'd, of 5 or 6000 old *Spanish* Souldiers, *Lansquenets*, *Swisses*, and *French*, and 50000 Citizens well arm'd, and resolv'd to perish in the Defence of their Town and Religion, (for which they were perswaded that they fought) had not easily been forc'd by that little Army, which rather seem'd to block them up, than to besiege them.

And besides the young and valiant Duke of *Nemours* their Governour, had excellently well provided for all things, during more than a moneth, which he had to prepare himself for the sustaining of this memorable Siege, wherein by his Courage and good Conduct, he acquir'd the Reputation of an old experienc'd General.

ral. For he had fortify'd all the weakest parts, repair'd the Breaches of the Walls, new rais'd the Ramparts and the Terrasses, drawn large Retrenchments, both within and without the heads of the *Fauxbourgs*, prepar'd Chains, and Barrels fill'd with Earth, to make Barricades for all the Streets, that the Enemies might be stopp'd at every Passage, while, in the mean time, they were to be slaughter'd with Musket Shot, and Stones from Windows, after they shou'd have enter'd the Town. He had earth'd up the greatest part of the Gates, beaten down the Houses, which might have been of Service to the Enemy ; cast and mounted above threescore pieces of Cannon, which were plant-ed on the Ramparts, and shut up the River both above and below, by massy Chains, sustain'd by Palisades, and defended by strong *Corps de Guard*, to preserve the Town from being surpriz'd, and to hinder the Entrance into it at low water. In conclusion, he had forgot nothing, that cou'd possibly be necessary for a stout Defence, and for the repulsing Force by Force.

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For which cause, the King, who understood the difficulty better than those about him, who, at that time, listen'd rather to their Passion than their Reason, being not of Opinion, that his Enterprize cou'd succeed by Assault, in the present condition of his Affairs, always rejected that Advice; besides loving his Subjects with a paternal Affection, and principally *Paris*, as he has always made it manifest, he cou'd never resolve on the Destruction of the fairest Flower in his Crown, and the noblest City in the Universe, by taking it in the way which they advis'd; which had been to expose it to the Fury of his Men of War, and especially of the *Hugonots*, who, in revenge of their Massacre at *St. Bartholomew*, wou'd have lay'd it desolate with Fire and Sword.

He resolv'd therefore to take it by Famine, not doubting, but that all the Passages for Provisions being shut up, it wou'd soon be forc'd to a Surrender for want of Bread. And certainly his Design was very reasonably lay'd, and according to all appearances,

rances ought to have succeeded, if his Expectation had not been deceiv'd, by one of the most wonderful Prodigies of invincible Patience, or rather extream Obstinacy, in that almost unimaginable Distress, to which they were reduc'd.

I shall not here describe it in all the exactness of its Circumstances; 'tis enough if I barely say, what is generally known to all the World, that the common Provisions, which were well husbanded, and distributed very sparingly, were consum'd in the month of *June*; that the *Fauxbourgs* being taken in *July*, they were shut up in the Town, and restrain'd from going out to search for Herbs, Leaves, and Roots, in the neighbouring Fields, and in the Ditches: that after they had eaten their Horses, Asses, Dogs, and Cats, they were reduc'd in *August*, to Rats and Mice, and then to Skins and Leather, and an abominable kind of Bread, which instead of Meal, was made of the Powder of dead mens Bones, taken out of the Church-yard of *St. Innocent*; that there were some, whom that Famine (by which

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twenty thousand persons dyed) brought to those horrible Extremities which are mention'd in the Sieges of *Samaria* and *Jerusalem*. Notwithstanding all which Miseries, 'tis wonderful to consider, that the *Parisians*, accusom'd to Plenty, and even to live luxuriously, chose rather to endure this dreadful Famine to the end, and to expose themselves to certain Death, whose terrible Image they had dayly before their Eyes in every Street, than to hear the least word of a Surrender.

And questionless, they had many Inducements, which contributed o- their obstinate Resolution of suffering so long and so contentedly. The Examples of the Princesses and great Ladies, who satisfy'd Nature with a very small Pittance of Oat Bread, taught them to bear those Miseries with constancy of Mind, which their Superiours of a more delicate and tender Sex, supported with so much chearfulness of Spirit. Add to this, the great Care and Vigilance of their Heads, to hinder Tumults and Seditions, and the immediate Execution of  
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of Mutineers. Then the Awe and Terrour which was struck into them by the *Sixteen*, who had resum'd their first Authority in the Town; and who commonly threw into the *Seine*, without judicial Process, or form of Law, all such as were suspected to hold Intelligence with the King, or to make the least mention of a Treaty. But the most comfortable consideration, was the great Alms, which were daily distributed amongst the Poor, by the Order, and at the Charges of the Legat *Cajetan*, the Archbishop of *Lions*, the Spanish Embassador, the Wealthiest of the City Companies, and the Cardinal *Gondy* Bishop of *Paris*, who voluntarily inclos'd himself within those Walls, for the Relief and Ease of his poor Flock. Besides, they had no small Encouragement from the false Reports which the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, who was very skilful in coining News, caus'd dayly to be spread about *Paris*, and the Assurances by Letters, whether true or forg'd, which she said she had receiv'd from her Brother the Duke of *Mayenne*,  
from

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from time to time, of speedy Succours : All which Considerations, serv'd not a little to encourage the People, and to inure them to that wonderful sufferance of their Miseries.

But after all, it must be ingenuously acknowledg'd, that the Cause which principally produc'd this great Effect, was the Zeal of Religion, which was easily inspir'd into the People of *Paris*, and the great care which they took to perswade them, as really they did, that it was no less than to betray it, and expose it to the inevitable danger of being utterly destroy'd, as had happen'd in *England*, if they shou'd submit themselves to a King, who made an open Profession of *Calvinism*. For in fine, they omitted no manner of Arts, and of Perswasions, to make this Opinion be swallow'd by the Multitude, and consequently to harden them against the fear of Death it self, rather than endure the Dominion of a Prince who was an Heretique. In the first place, they made use of the *Sorbonists*, which (as their Liberty was then

then oppress'd) immediately made a new Decree, on the seventh of May, in which it is declar'd, *That Henry de Bourbon, being a relaps'd Heretick, and excommunicated personally by our Holy Father; there was manifest danger, that he wou'd deceive the Church, and ruine the Catholique Religion, though he shou'd obtain an exterior Absolution, and that therefore the French are oblig'd in Conscience, to hinder him with all their Power, from coming to the Crown, in case King Charles the Tenth shou'd dye, or even if he shou'd release his Right to him; and that, as all such who favour his Party, are actually Deserters of Religion, and continue in mortal Sin, which makes them liable to eternal Damnation; so also, by the same reason, all such as shall persevere to the Death in resistance of him, as Champions of the Faith, shall be rewarded with the Crown of Martyrdom.*

On the occasion of this new Decree, a General Assembly was held at the Town-House, where all the Assistants were sworn to dye, rather than to receive an Heretick King. This

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This Oath was renew'd yet more solemnly on the Holy Evangelists, betwixt the Hands of the Legat, at the foot of the great Altar of the Church of *Nostredame*, after a general Procession, at which, besides the Clergy, were present, all the Princes and Princesses, and all the Companies, the Bishops and Abbots, the Colonels and Officers, and the Persons of Quality, follow'd by vast Multitudes, of People, where the Reliques of all the Churches in *Paris* were carried. This Oath, reduc'd into Writing, was sent to every House, by the Overseers of the several Wards, who oblig'd all persons to take it. After which, the Parliament made an Ordinance, prohibiting, on pain of Death, that any one shou'd speak of making a Composition with the King of *Navarre*. and above all the rest, the Preachers of the *League*, and the famous *Cordelier Panigarole*, Bishop of *Ast*, with *Bellarmino* the Learned Jesuit, who both acted in Conjunction with them; the Divines of the Legat *Cajetan*, who preach'd like the rest, during the Siege, encourag'd their

their Auditors to suffer all Miseries, rather than subject themselves to an Heretick, assuring them, according to the Decree of the *Sorbonne*, that if they shou'd loose their Lives for such a Cause, they dy'd undoubtedly for the Faith, and were to be esteem'd no less than Martyrs.

There also happen'd an Accident, which as fantastical and ridiculous as it appear'd, was yet of use to animate the People, and to fortifie them in their Belief, that it was their Duty to make opposition, even to Death, against the setting up an Heretick King. For above twelve hundred Ecclesiasticks, as well Seculars as Regulars, amongst whom, were the most reform'd, and most austere of every Order, such as were the *Carthusians*, *Minimes*, *Capuchins*, and *Fenillants*, made a kind of Muster, marching in Rank and File through the Streets, wearing over their ordinary Habits, the Arms of Foot Soldiers, having *William Roze* the Bishop of *Senlis* at their Head, and the Figures of the Crucifix and the Blessed Virgin flanking in their Standard, to  
make



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make it appear, that since Religion was the Matter in dispute; their Profession, as peaceable as it was, gave them no Dispensation in that Case, from hazarding their Lives in War like other Men, and that they were all resolv'd to dye with their Brethren, in the Defence of Faith.

All *Paris* ran to this Spiritual Show, which was like to have prov'd fatal to the Legat; for making a Stop with his Coach at the end of *Pont Notre-dame*, to behold this noble Spectacle of the Church Militant; while they were giving a *Salve* in honour of him, one of those good Fathers, who had borrow'd his Musket from a Citisen, and knew not that it was charg'd with Bullets, let fly, with no worse Intention than to show his Manhood, and fairly kill'd one of his men who fate in the Boot; which caus'd the Prelate, who lik'd not that unchristian Proceeding very well, to make haste away for his own Security. But this made no other Impression in the *Parisians*, than to confirm them in their Resolution: For when they beheld their Confessours and Guides  
of

of their Consciences, in that War-like Posture, they believ'd such men wou'd never have appear'd in Arms, unless they were satisfy'd that it was for the Cause of God, in which it was their common Duty both to live and dye.

But what most confirm'd them in this Belief, was, that the King, whose hour of Conversion was not yet come, wou'd never hear speak of it, in any Overtures which were made to no purpose for a Peace. And though the Duke of *Nemours*, whom he had invited by a kind Letter to Submission, since he had already satisfy'd his Honour to the full, had protested, that he wou'd be the first to throw himself at his Feet, and that he wou'd make it his Business too, that *Paris* shou'd acknowledge him, provided he return'd into the Church, he always rejected that Proposition. On which account, whatsoever solemn Promises he made, that he wou'd maintain the Catholique Religion; the *Parisians*, (to whom their Preachers, who had an absolute Dominion over their Consciences, still represented the Ex-ample

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ample of *England*) cou'd never resolve to confide in him. Thus, being perswaded that it was impossible for them to surrender, without giving up their Religion by the same Act; they had the Courage, in the midst of their Sufferings, to expect the great Succours which the Duke of *Parma* brought to their Relief at the end of *August*. And that excellent Commander, without giving Battel, (to which the King, who was constrain'd to retire with all his Forces from before *Paris*, cou'd never force him, so well he was retrench'd at *Clay*) had the Glory to execute his own design, and after his own manner, by taking *Lagny* in the sight of the King, and freeing *Paris*, which was the end of his Undertaking. It belongs to the general History of *France*, to describe all the particular Passages of that famous Expedition; I shall only say (that I may omit nothing which precisely concerns my Subject) that before the King had licens'd the Nobility and Gentry which attended him, to depart, and divided his Forces into several small Bodies, as he

he afterwards did, he wou'd needs  
make a last Attempt upon the  
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To which effect, on Saturday night,  
the eighth of *September*, he convey'd  
secretly three or four thousand cho-  
sen Soldiers into the *Fauxbourgs*, *St.*  
*Jacques*, and *St. Marceau*, under the  
Leading of the Count *de Chastillon*, to  
scale the Walls betwixt those two  
Gates after Midnight, while the Town  
was buried (as it were) in the depth  
of Sleep. For he believ'd not that  
the *Parisians*, who knew that his Ar-  
my was drawn up in Battalia on the  
Plain of *Bondy*, all Saturday, wou'd  
keep themselves upon their Guard,  
on that side which he purpos'd to at-  
taque. But as some notice had  
been given of his Design, and that  
besides, his Troops cou'd not possibly  
enter those *Fauxbourgs*, without  
noise, the Allarm was immediately  
taken, the Bells were rung, and the  
Citizens in Crouds mounted the Ram-  
parts, especially, where he meant  
to have planted his Ladders. But at  
last, when after a long Expectation,  
no Enemy appear'd, and that no

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more noise was heard, because the Kings Soldiers, who were cover'd by the *Fauxbourgs*, made not the least motion, and also kept a profound Silence, it was taken only for a false Alarm. The Bells ceas'd ringing, and every man retir'd to his own Lodging, excepting only ten Jesuites, who being more vigilant than the rest, continu'd all the remainder of that Night on the same Post, which was not far distant from their Colledge.

In the mean time, the Soldiers of *Chastillon*, who were softly crept down into the Ditch, began about four of the Clock in the Morning, to set up their Ladders, being favour'd by a thick Mist, which hindred them from being discern'd. The Design was well enough lay'd, for there needed not above ten or twelve men to have got over into the Town, who might have open'd the Gate of *St. Marceau* to their Fellows, by means of a Correspondence which was held with a Captain belonging to that Quarter; after which it had been easie to have possess themselves of the  
Uni-

Univerſity, and conſequently both the Town and the City, wou'd have ſubmitted themſelves to the King, rather than have expoſ'd *Paris* as a Prey to two great Armies, by admitting that of the Duke of *Parma*, at the Gate of *St. Martin*.

But the Vigilance of the ten Jeſuites, broke all theſe Meaſures which were ſo juſtly taken; for having heard a Noiſe in the Ditch, which was made by thoſe who were ſetting up their Ladders againſt the Walls; they cry'd out as loud as they cou'd ſtretch their Voices, to Arms, to Arms. Notwithſtanding which, the Soldiers were ſtill getting up, and the firſt of them, who was ready to leap upon the Rampart, happen'd to ſhow his Head, juſt where one of thoſe honeſt Fathers was plac'd; who gave him ſuch a luſty knock, with an old Halbard, which he had in his hand, as he ſtood Centry, that he broke it in two upon his Head, and tumbled him down with the Blow into the Ditch. The Companions of this valiant Jeſuite, did as much to two other Soldiers, and a

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fourth,

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fourth, who was already got up, and held his Ladder with one Hand, to descend into the Town, and with the other a broad Curtie-axe, to cleave the Head of the first who shou'd oppose him, was stopp'd short by two of these Fathers, who, each of them, with a Partizan, so vigorously push'd him, that notwithstanding all the Blows which he made in vain, at too great a distance, for fear of their long Weapons, they forc'd him at the last to quit his Ladder, and having hurt him in the Throat, overturn'd him backward into the Ditch after his Fellows.

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The two first Citizens who ran to their Relief, were the Advocate *William Balden*, and the famous Book-feller *Nicholas Nivelles*; these two, finding one of those Jesuites grappling with a Soldier, who was getting up in spight of the poor Fathers weak resistance, came into the rescue, and lent him their helping Hands to kill him: And the Advocate immediately turning himself to another, who had already got upon the Ramparts, discharg'd so terrible a Reverse upon

upon his right hand, with his Fau-  
chion, that he cut it sheer off, and  
sent him headlong to the Bottom; in  
the mean time, the Alarm being  
once more warmly taken in the  
Town; the Citizens and Soldiers  
made haste to Man the Walls, espe-  
cially on that side, and heaps of kind-  
led Straw were thrown down to light  
the Ditch, and make discovery what  
was doing below; whereupon the  
Kings Soldiers being easily discern'd,  
left both their Ladders and their  
Attempt, which now cou'd not possi-  
bly succeed, and retir'd to the Body of  
their Army.

So little was there wanting to  
bring about so great an Enterprize:  
For 'tis most certain, that if these ten  
Jesuits had done like the Townsmen,  
and had gone back to take their rest  
in their College, after the first Alarm  
which was held for false, the King  
had that day entred *Paris*. But the  
Divine Providence had reserv'd that  
happines for a time more favourable  
to Religion, and to that City; into  
which the King, being Victorious o-  
ver the *League*, was ordain'd to make



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a peaceable entrance, after he had solemnly profess'd the Catholique Faith.

In the mean time, the affairs of the *League*, far from being advanc'd after this expedition, which was so glorious to the Duke of *Parma*, were soon after reduc'd into a worse estate than formerly, by reason of that horrible division which arose among their Party, and by the prudent conduct of the King. For perceiving that his hopes were frustrate of drawing them to a Battel, who were now at their ease, after the taking of *Lagny*, and had their Quarters securely extended in *La Brie*; he remanded one part of his Forces to refresh themselves in the Neighbouring Provinces, and put another into Garrisons, in such places as might serve to hinder the commerce with the *Parisians*, and particularly in *St. Denis*, which he had taken during the Siege of *Paris*, and where the Chevalier d' *Aumale*, who endeavour'd to retake it some small time afterwards, was kill'd when he was almost in possession of the place.

Himself, in the mean time, with a flying

flying Army beat the Field, to cut off Provisions from *Paris*, and from the Army of the Duke of *Parma*; who having lost much time in taking *Corbeil*, which was immediately retaken from the *League*, was constrain'd to return into *Flanders*, having always the King at his heels, who perpetually harass'd him, and put him to very great inconveniences and hardships, during his march to the Frontiers of *Artois*, for so far he took the pains to bring him on his Journey. After which he made another attempt on *Paris*, which he hop'd to have surpris'd by the Gate of *St. Honorè*, with many Waggon's loaden with Meal, and driven by stout Soldiers disguis'd in the habits of Countrymen. The stratagem not succeeding, because there was some suspicion of the design, he reassembled all his Forces, and went to lay Siege to *Chartres*, which after a vigorous defence of more than two months, not being reliev'd by the Duke of *Mayenne*, was constrain'd at last to come to a surrender.

It was particularly by the Valour, Policy, and Industry of the Brave

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Count

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Count of *Chastillon*, Colonel of the French Infantry, that this considerable place was taken: For that young Lord, who had as much understanding as courage, and was very knowing, especially in the Mathematicks, invented a kind of wooden Bridge, which he cast by a new sort of machine, over the Ditch; by means of which they cou'd pass under covert, and without danger, as far as the foot of a great breach, which he had made on the side of *Galardon*. After which, *Monsieur de la Bourdaisiere*, who had bravely defended himself till then, seeing there was no longer a possibility of resistance, made his capitulation; which the King, always generous, and a great Lover of valour even in his Enemies, granted him on very honourable terms.

This was the last action of *Chastillon*, who having serv'd his Prince all along with so much gallantry, ended his Life in the flower of his Age; dying not long after at his House of *Chastillon* on the *Loire*, of a disease which he had brought upon himself, by his over-labour at a Siege, wherein he had

had acquir'd so just a reputation and so much glory. He was extremely lamented even by the Catholiques, who had observ'd in him a great inclination to renounce his Calvinism in short time, as he who already had begun to find out the falsities of that opinion; tho' the Admiral *de Coligny* his Father, who was a strong *Huguenot*, had caus'd him to be carefully instructed in that way. But that happiness which he liv'd not to enjoy, was reserv'd for his younger Brother, *Monsieur d'Andelot*, who, like another *Jacob*, succeeded to the blessing which was denied to the Elder Son.

He was happy also in his Posterity, who by serving their King and the True Religion with great zeal, have repair'd the mischiefs which have been done to both, by the Admiral their Predecessor. And certainly 'tis one great sign of this good fortune, that we have seen in our own days, the Forces of the King, commanded by the Count of *Coligny*, for the assistance of the Emperor against the *Turk*, obtain a glorious Victory over them,  
at

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at that memorable Battel of *Raab*, the gaining of which preserv'd the Empire, and deliver'd it from the imminent danger of being overrun by Infidels.

But to proceed. This last piece of service which was perform'd by *Chastillon* for the King, was of great importance to the happy success of his Affairs: For having already in his hands the passages of all the Rivers, which discharge themselves into the *Seine*, for the supply of *Paris*; and also being absolute Master of *La Beauce*, by the reduction of *Chartres*, and of the other small places of the same Province; that great City was on the sudden, as it were, invested on all sides: And about the same time he receiv'd intelligence, of the great successes which his Commanders had in other places against the *Leaguers*: *Les diguières* in *Dauphiné*, where he was receiv'd in *Grenoble*: *La Valette* in *Provence*, the Marechal of *Matignon* in *Guyenne*, where *Bourdeaux*, which had hitherto maintain'd it self in a kind of neutrality, return'd to the Obedience of the King, and the Dukes

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Dukes of *Montpensier* and of *Nevers*,  
in *Normandy* and in *Champaigne*. *Ann. 1591.*

But that which, in conclusion, ruin'd the *League*, which was already weakned by Arms, was the furious division kindled amongst the Heads of it; the occasion of which I shall next relate. The Duke of *Parma* had sufficiently taken notice, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, of whose carriage he was not otherwise well satisfied, had design'd to make use of the *Spaniards*, in order to his support against the King, but not to be of use to them, in making them Masters at least of some part of *France*, which was their intention, or to assist them in the Election of a new King, who shou'd absolutely depend on them, now that the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* was deceas'd in Prison at *Fontenay le Comte*. For which reason he fail'd not to give notice to King *Philip*, that he ought not to build any assurance hereafter on that Prince, who had besides, lost much of his reputation, by the ill success of his affairs; and that it was much more expedient for him, to get an interest in the Corporations of  
great

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great Towns, and above all in the Sixteen of *Paris*, who to compass the restoration of their Authority, which the Duke of *Mayenne* had once more taken from them, wou'd easily consent to what he pleas'd.

The King of *Spain* follow'd this advice, and the Sixteen, who mortally hated the Duke of *Mayenne*, seeing themselves supported by the *Spaniards*, with whom they had entred into a strict League of Interest and Friendship, openly enterpris'd, what contempt soever he had of them, in despite of him, to re-establish themselves in their first Authority. And that which rais'd their courage to a greater height, and made them more boldly put their resolutions in practice was, that *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who was newly exalted to the Papacy, had declar'd in favour of them; imitating the *Spaniards* in that particular, and going quite contrary to *Sixtus* the Fifth.

That Pope *Sixtus*, who had so ill treated the King of *Navarre*, by the thundring Bull which he had publish'd against him, and who afterwards  
 oppos'd

oppos'd his being King of *France*, had very much alter'd his opinion, after he had been better inform'd of the *French* affairs: For having made solid reflections on the past, without suffering himself to be prepossess'd, he clearly understood the great merits of the King, whom he then endeavour'd to reconcile to the Church by gentle usage: The Ambition of the Heads of the *League*, the indirect dealing and couzenages of their Agents, (who had so often deceiv'd him by false Relations; and more than all the rest, the pernicious designs of the *Spaniards*, who that they might irrevocably engage him in their Interests, were vehemently urgent with him to Excommunicate all the *Catholiques* who follow'd the King, and that he shou'd bind himself by Oath, never to receive him into the Bosom of the Church, what submission soever he should make;) had opened his eyes, and caus'd him to take much other measures. For they proceeded at length to plain threatnings, that if he deny'd them this satisfaction, they wou'd protest in a full Assembly against



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gainst him, and make provision of other means for the preservation of the Church which he had abandon'd. This so far inrag'd him, as he was the Man amongst all the Popes, who was the least capable of bearing such affronts, that opposing threatnings to threatnings, he told the Embassador *Olivares* in plain terms, he wou'd cut off his Head if he shou'd presume to stir any farther in that matter. Which fair warning he was wise enough to take, as well knowing the fiery temper of the Pope, who was like enough to have kept his word.

Nay, there are some who are apt to think, that far from joyning with the *League* against the King, to which the *Spaniards* perpetually solicted him for their own interest, he had resolv'd to employ the five Millions of Gold, which he had heap'd up in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, during his Popedom, to make War against them, and to beat them out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. But his measures were all broken by a sudden death, which carry'd him off on the twenty seventh day of *August*, in the Year precedent.

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The Leaguers, who observ'd not even common decency, so little disembled their joy for his death, that the news of it being brought to *Paris*, on the fifth of *September*, *Aubry*, the Curate of *St. André des Arcs*, an hare-brain'd Fool, declaring it to the people in his Sermon, was impudent enough to say, that his death came by miracle, betwixt the two Feasts of our Lady. And added these his very words: *God has deliver'd us from a wicked Pope, and an ill Politician: If he had liv'd longer, you wou'd have been all amaz'd to hear Sermons Preach'd in Paris against a Pope; and yet it must of necessity have been done.* Behold, how much these Preachers of the League were intoxicated with their passions, which they easily infus'd into the people; who followed quietly, like blind men, their Guides, who were blinder than themselves, and who led them to the Precipice, where they all perish'd.

*Gregory* the Fourteenth, a *Milanois*, who was exalted to the Papacy after *Urban* the seventh, who enjoyed that honour but thirteen days, proceeded in

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in direct opposition to the conduct of *Sixtus* the Fifth. He joyn'd with the *Spaniards*, and declar'd openly in favour of the *League*, according to the manner they desir'd: For laying aside the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other Princes of his House, for whom the *Spaniards* little car'd, he writ immediately to the Sixteen, to encourage them to persevere in the resolution which they had always testified, and never to submit themselves to *Henry de Bourbon*. He promised them fifteen thousand Crowns by the Month, for so long a time as he shou'd judge it necessary for their supply, and an Army of 12000 men to be rais'd and entertain'd at his own charges, which he wou'd suddenly send them, under the Conduct of *Hercules Sfondrato* his Nephew, whom he made Duke of *Montemarciano*. And that he might joyn his Spiritual Arms with his Temporal, he sent into *France* (by the Referendary *Marcelin Landriano*) a Monitory, by which he Excommunicated all Prelates, and all other Ecclesiasticks of the Kings Party, depriving them of their Benefices, if within a certain

certain short space of time they did not forsake him, and retire out of all places under his obedience: He oblig'd the Nobility and Gentry, the Magistracy and the People, to do the same; and, in conclusion, declar'd *Henry of Bourbon* to be a relaps'd Heretique, Excommunicated, and to have forfeited the Crown and all his Possessions and Lordships.

There are sometimes Thunders, which make a ratling noise and do no harm, because the fiery exhalation which breaks out of the Clouds, is evaporated, whether by the thinness of its body, or by the violent agitation of the Air, which disperses it before it reaches us. Of all the Thunderbolts which have been darted from the Vatican, against Sovereign Princes, there will be found but few which have been so noisy as this, which was accompanied with an Army that was to Act in conjunction with the *League* and *Spaniards*: All which notwithstanding it had little or no effect, by the care which was taken to make evident, by many Writings which were spread abroad, the

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nullities

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nullities of this Bull; and by the vigorous resolutions of the Kings Council of Parliament, sitting at *Tours* and at *Chaalons*, and of the Clergy of *France*, assembled at *Mante*, who condemn'd it as erroneous, every one of them after their own manner. In somuch, that not a Man of all the Catholicks, on that account forsook the Party of the King, whose conversion was continually hop'd, as soon as he had the means and opportunity of causing himself to be instructed. So strongly were our Ancestors perswaded, that the power of Popes, as Heads of the Church, extends not at all upon the temporal, and much less on the Rights of the Crown; and that it can ordain nothing to the prejudice of that Fidelity and Allegiance which is due to Princes, in those things which are not manifestly against God.

'Tis true, that the Parliament at *Paris* being for the *League*, receiv'd that Bull, and repeal'd the Decrees of *Chaalons* and *Tours*: But 'tis manifest, it was then no free Court, as being at that time oppress'd under the Tyranny of the

the Sixteen, who had fetter'd it (as I may say) by the fear which every Member of it had, to be led Captives in Triumph to the *Bastile*. In this manner, those turbulent Spirits, who may justly be call'd the sixteen Tyrants of *Paris*, finding themselves supported by the Protection of a Pope, became daily more insolent and haughty, in opposition to the Duke of *Mayenne's* Authority: and their Boldness was increas'd yet more, by a most surprising Answer, which the King of *Spain* made to the Deputies of the *Lorraine* Princes. Those Princes being assembled at *Rheims*, where was present the Cardinal of *Pelvé*, whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had made Archbishop of that Place, found themselves (in that low Condition to which they were reduc'd) unable by their own Power to resist the King, or to procure their safety by any other means, than by obtaining from King *Philip*, the Assistance of all his Forces, to the end that they might be able to maintain that King, who was to be elected in the States General, which were to be assembled for that

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purpose; each of them in his own Person pretending to that Honour, yet none of them daring to own his Ambition openly, for fear of drawing on himself the Hatred of his Rivals, who wou'd certainly unite and band themselves together to exclude him.

The Person who was chosen to negotiate in *Spain*, was the famous *Peter Jannin*, President of the Parliament of *Bourgogne*, a man of great Integrity, exquisite Understanding, rare Prudence, and inviolable Fidelity, which had caus'd the Duke of *Mayenne* to repose an absolute Confidence in him; who, for his own part, in the Honesty of his well meaning Soul, had follow'd him, and the Party of the *League* with an implicit Faith, that it was for the safety of Religion and of the State: for on the one side, he believ'd not that Religion cou'd be preserv'd in *France*, if the King were not a Catholique, and therefore he argu'd that he ought to be such; and on the other side, being an honest *French-man*, he wou'd like his Master, make use of the *Spaniards*

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ards to compass his ends, but not serve them, by favouring their unjust Designs in the least circumstance, to the prejudice of the State.

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Being such as I have here describ'd him, it was not hard for him to discover the Intentions of King *Philip*: who holding himself assur'd of the Sixteen, which he believ'd to be the prevailing Faction, and much more powerful than in effect it was, lay'd himself so open, as to make his Intentions be clearly understood, which the great Prudence and Policy, whereon he so much valued himself, shou'd have kept undiscover'd for a longer time, in expectation of a fitting opportunity to make them known, when all things were dispos'd, and in a due readiness for the Execution of his Designs. After the President had represented to him in his Audiences, the weakness and necessities of the *League*, the Forces and Progress of the King, the extream danger in which Religion then was, and the immortal glory which he might acquire by preserving it in the most Christian Kingdom, by the

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Assistance which was expected from his Zeal and Power, that Prince who was willing to sell his Aid at a higher Price than bare Glory, without more advantage, open'd his mind, without any reserve, after a most surprizing manner. For he caus'd him to be told by his Secretary *Don John D' Idiagues*, that he had resolv'd to marry his only Daughter the *Infanta Isabella*, to the Archduke *Ernestus*, and to give him in Dowry the Low-Countries, and since that for the Preservation of Religion in *France*, it was necessary they shou'd have a Catholick King, they cou'd not make a better Choice than of that Princess, who, being Neece to the three last Kings, and Grand-daughter to *Henry* the Second, was without contradiction more nearly related to them than the *Bourbons*: that with her Person, all the Low-Countries wou'd be re united to the Crown, and that having, besides these Advantages, the whole Forces of the House of *Austria* in favour of her, the Hereticks wou'd soon be exterminated, and the Prince of *Bearn* expell'd from the Kingdom.

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The President overjoy'd, that he had wherewithal to disabuse the Duke of *Mayenne*, by means of this strange Proposition, and confirm him in those good Opinions which the *Sieur de Villeroy* had infus'd into him; answer'd King *Philip* with great Prudence, and no less Policy; and faintly putting him in mind of the *Salique Law*, on which he did not much insist, seem'd rather to encourage, than dash his Hopes, in the prosecution of his Purpose. Insomuch, that he drew him to a Promise of great Supplies, both in Men and Money, which he fail'd not to send, with more speed than usual. And the Duke being satisfy'd, that according to that ambitious Design of the *Spaniards*, he could never pretend to the Kingdom, us'd all his Endeavours for the future, that the Election might not fall on any other; not even on a Prince of his own Family, who might marry the *Infanta*. On the contrary, the Sixteen, who were altogether at the Devotion of the *Spaniards*, by whom they were powerfully protected against him, wrote to King *Philip*,

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by one Father *Matthew* (not the Jesuite of that Name) a large Letter, the Original of which, being intercepted near *Lyons*, was brought to the King ; in which, after their humble Acknowledgments to his Catholick Majesty, of the many Favours and Benefits which they had receiv'd from him, they earnestly petition him, that in case he shou'd refuse to accept the Crown of *France*, he wou'd give them a King of his own Family, or at least some other Prince, whom he shou'd please to elect for his Son in Law.

'Tis farther observable, that the Division which was betwixt the Duke of *Mayenne*, and his nearest Relations, exceedingly increas'd the Power, and by consequence, the Audacity and Insolence of those factious men : For on one side, the Duke of *Nemours* (who was much incens'd, that after he had so bravely defended *Paris*, the Government of *Normandy* shou'd be refus'd him, which Province he thought to have erected into a Principality, like that of *Britagne*, of which, the Duke of *Mercœur* had made

made himself a Sovereign Prince) was retir'd with a good part of the Forces into *Lionnois*, and by the Correspondence which he held with the Sixteen, did his best endeavours to supplant him; and cause himself to be chosen Head of the Party; on the other side, the young Duke of *Guise*, who had made his escape from the Castle of *Tours* where he was detain'd Prisoner, having been receiv'd with great Acclamations by the *Leaguers*, who believ'd, that in his Person, they had recover'd his dead Father, their great Patron and Protector; gave him much anxiety, and fill'd his mind with jealous apprehensions, especially when he observ'd that the great Name of *Guise*, so much reverenc'd by the *Parisians*, drew after it not only the Crowd of common People, but also the Nobility and Gentlemen of the *League*. But above all things it grated him, that his Nephew had made a strict Alliance with the Faction of Sixteen, who were overjoy'd to have him at their Head, in opposition to his Uncle, whom they hated: All these Considerations  
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put together, swell'd them to so great an arrogance, that they resolv'd to rid their hands of all such as were in a Condition of hindring them from being Absolute in *Paris*.

To this effect, they bethought themselves of inventing a new kind of Oath, which excluded from the Crown all the Princes of the Blood; and presenting it to such, whom they knew to be too well principled to sign it, on their Refusal, they made Seizure of their Estates, and banish'd them. In fine, having by this abominable Practice, driven away all those who stood suspected by them, and even the Cardinal of *Gondy* their Bishop, who, together with the Curats of *St. Merry*, and of *St. Eustache*, endeavour'd to incline the People, by gentle Perswasions, to return to their Obedience; they committed a most barbarous and inhumane Action, which by the just Judgment of God and Men, was in conclusion, the ruine of that execrable Faction.

For, to intimidate the Parliament, which oppos'd their unjust and violent Undertakings, and had newly acquit-

acquitted one of those, whom they accus'd of holding Correspondence with the Royalists, and to revenge themselves of the President *Brissson*, who had advertis'd the Duke of *Mayenne*, that those Villains had written to the King of *Spain*, and offer'd him the Crown; on the fifteenth of *November*, very early in the Morning, they seiz'd that worthy Gentleman, together with the *Sieur Larcher* a Counsellor of Parliament, and the *Sieur Tardif*, his great Friends and Confidants; carry'd them one after the other, to the *Petit Chastelet*, and there having first declar'd them by their own private Authority, without other form of Process, to be attainted and convict of Treason, for having favour'd the Party of the King of *Navarre*, they order'd them to be hang'd on a Beam of the Council Chamber, and the next day ty'd them to three Gibbets, in the Place of the *Greve*, having each of them an Inscription fastned to him, signifying that they were Traytors to their Country, and favourers of Hereticks.

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They believ'd that by this means, the People imagining that those unfortunate men intended to have sold them to the Enemy, wou'd approve that action ; but on the contrary, every one shook with horror at so piteous a Spectacle. Even those who were of their Faction, detested in their hearts this horrible Cruelty, and there were none who had not reason to fear that their own Lives might every moment be expos'd to the fury of those Tyrants, if some speedy stop were not put to the course of their outrageous Proceedings. For which reason, when the Duke of *Mayenne* had receiv'd Notice of it at *Laon*, where he then was, and was withal advertis'd, that those furious People had incurr'd the general Hatred, and that they said openly, that they wou'd do as much to him, as they had done to others ; he came at length to be of Opinion, that he might safely punish them, without fear of a Rising in their Favour. Upon which, he entered *Paris* with the Forces which he had about him, forc'd *Buffy le Clerc* to surrender the *Bastile* into his hands ;

hands; and after having laid the Faction asleep, by a seeming negligence for some few days, while they believ'd that he had satisfi'd himself, with the Reproof which he had given them in the Town-house, where he only advis'd them to be more moderate, he condemn'd nine of them to death, without observing more formalities than they had us'd on the like occasion.

Four of them, namely, *Ameline*, *Emonot*, *Anroux*, and Commissary *Louchard*, who were apprehended on the fourth of *September* betimes in the morning at their houses, were brought to the *Louvre*, where the Duke of *Mayenne*, as they were told, desir'd to speak with them. But upon their entrance, they found the *Sieur de Vitry*, who caus'd their Sentence to be read to them: And at the same time, the Executioner, who stood ready with his Servants, his Halters, and his Ladder, hung them up all four on a Beam, in the *Swisses Hall*. The remaining five, amongst whom was *Bassy Le Clerc*, having receiv'd intimation that they were to be taken, fav'd



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~ sav'd themselves by flying into *Flanders*, where they dy'd of want, being unreliev'd and forsaken by all mankind.

The Duke was contented to punish the rest in their purses, by forcing them to refund the wealth which they had scrap'd together during their Tyranny, with so much rapine and oppression. And to cut up by the roots, those evils which proceeded from the licentious meetings of the Sixteen, particularly at the houses of the two Curats, *Boucher* and *Pelletier*, as also to free the Citizens from their arbitrary power of commanding them to Arm when they thought good, which they durst never disobey; he caus'd to be verified in Parliament, and publish'd an Ordinance, by which all persons were prohibited on pain of Life, and especially those who were called *The Council of Sixteen*, to hold any more Assemblies. And all the Officers, Colonels, Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns of the Town, and most considerable Citizens joyning with him, to take from that accursed Race of factious men, all farther power

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er of harming either the publick or private persons, they all swore, and made a promise to Almighty God, on the Holy Evangelists, neither to take Arms themselves, nor permit others to take Arms, or to assemble themselves together, unless by authority from the Duke of *Mayenne*, or the Provost of Merchants and the Sheriffs, who were his Creatures: To fall on all such who shou'd presume to Arm, or to Assemble, and to use them like Traytors, Mutineers, and Persons guilty of Impiety and High-Treason: And if they shou'd discover any attempt or secret conspiracy, to give notice of it to the Magistrates, to the end the Authors and Accomplices of it might be brought to condign punishment, and themselves might live in peace and quietness, in the fear of God, and under the protection of the Laws.

I have seen in the Library of Monsieur *Colbert*, (which is stor'd with great numbers of excellent Manuscripts, and most authentick pieces) the Original of this Oath in Parchment, sign'd by five hundred fifty eight Persons, whereof two hundred  
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sixty four sign'd on the fifth of *September*, (the day after the Execution of the four, who were hang'd at the *Louvre*) and the rest on the twenty third of *December*, and the tenth of *January*, in the year following. This was the fatal blow, which beat down the Faction of the Sixteen, which from that time forward, was so far disarm'd and weakn'd, that it never durst offer at any thing more: which was one of the principal Causes of the Freedom; and in consequence of the peaceable Reduction of *Paris*, to the Obedience of the King.

For which reason, I believe my Reader will be glad to be acquainted with the Names of some amongst them, who, by the great Zeal which they testify'd on that occasion, to assure the Peace and Liberty of *Paris*, had the Happiness and Glory to have much contributed to the accomplishment of so good a Work. I cou'd not here insert five hundred Names, without tiring the Patience of my Reader, who will therefore satisfy himself with those few, which I have selected from so great a number, because

because they appear to me to be the best known, and the most remarkable amongst them. *Nicholay, Thiersant, Le Fevre, L' Huillier, Parfait, Rouilliard, Pasquier, Boulanger, Blondel, Rolland, Hebers, Des Cominges, Amelot, D' Aubray, and P. Le Tellier.*

The Duke of *Mayenne*, having in this manner re-establish'd his own Authority, and the security of *Paris*, by the pulling down, or rather the total ruine of the Sixteen, wou'd also repair the Loss which the Parliament had suffer'd of its only President, remaining now without an Head: and acting with absolute Power, in the nature of a Sovereign Monarch, he created four new Presidents, out of their number, whom he believ'd to be entirely in his Interests, not doubting but they wou'd imploy themselves on all occasions, to maintain his Power in that Body. after which he was oblig'd to take the Field, and to beg, as he had done formerly the Assistance of the *Spaniards* against the King; who having made great progress during those

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Troubles and Divisions, which were likely at that time to ruine the Party of the *League*, had laid Siege to *Rouen*.

He had already taken *Noyon* in view of the Enemies Army, which which was then stronger than his own: And having lately receiv'd the Supplies of Money, and of three thousand men, which the Earl of *Essex*, the Queen of *Englands* Favourite had brought him, he went with twelve hundred Horse to joyn upon the Frontier, on the Plains of *Vandy*, five or six thousand Reiters, and above ten thousand Lanfquenets, which the Vicount de *Turenne* had brought him from *Germany*; where he negotiated so well with the three Protestant Electors, and *William Landtgrave* of *Hesse*, that he obtain'd this considerable Succour, notwithstanding all the Endeavours which the Emperor *Rodolphus* had us'd to hinder him. Which important Service, with many others which he had constantly perform'd from time to time, during the space of eighteen years that he had serv'd the

the King, was immediately recom-  
penc'd by his Royal Master, who ha-  
ving given him the *Baſton* of *Mare-  
ſhall*, made him Duke of *Bouillon*, and  
Sovereign Prince of *Sedan*, by giving  
him in marriage the Princeſs *Charlotte  
de la Mark*, Siſter and Heir to the  
Duke deceas'd. He alſo on his  
ſide, being deſirous to let the King  
underſtand, that he wou'd endea-  
vour to deſerve that Honour which  
was done him by his Majeſty, and  
what he might expect hereafter  
from him, did like *David*, who mar-  
ry'd not *Sauls* Daughter, till he had  
kill'd an hundred *Philiftims*; for, as  
a Preparatory to his Marriage, in imi-  
tation of that Scripture-Hero, he took  
the Town of *Stenay* by *Scalado*, the  
day before his Marriage. The King  
now finding himſelf ſtrengthen'd  
with ſo conſiderable a Supply, went  
to re-joyn the Groſs of his Army be-  
fore *Rouen*, which the Marſhal *de  
Biron* had inveſted. As that Town  
was well attack'd, ſo was it better  
defended, during the ſpace of ſix  
months, by *Andrew Brancas de Villars*,  
who was afterwards Admiral of

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*France*, and at that time Lieutenant General in *Normandy*, and Governor of *Rouen* and *Havre de Grace*, for the *League*. He perform'd on that occasion, all that cou'd be expected from a great Captain, for the defence of a Town committed to his Charge ; and by his long and vigorous Resistance , twice gave leisure to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to bring him the Relief which he had obtain'd from the *Spaniards*. It was not without much difficulty that he gain'd these Succours ; but at length, having artfully insinuated into the King of *Spains* Ministers, that he wou'd procure the Election to fall upon the *Infanta*, which thing they passionately desir'd, though he fed them only with false hopes of it ; the Duke of *Parma* receiv'd such exprefs Orders to march once more into *France*, for the Relief of *Rouen*, that it was impossible for him to resist them, though he wou'd gladly have been dispenc'd with, from that expedition.

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He therefore advanc'd but very slowly, with a strong Army of thirteen or fourteen thousand old Soldiers,

ers, *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, and seven or eight thousand *French*, *Lorrainers* and *Italians*, which last, were the remainders of the Duke of *Mayennes*, and *Montemarciano's* Forces. The King in person, went to meet them on their way, with part of his Cavalry, to harraſs them in their March, and advanc'd as far as *Aumale*, that he might defend that Paſſage againſt them. But conſidering that he had not ſtrength enough to maintain it, and that their whole Army, which he went on purpoſe to view and to obſerve, was coming to fall upon him, and might eaſily incloſe him, by paſſing the River, either above or below that Burrough, he thought it neceſſary to make a ſpeedy Retreat. 'Tis true, that this Retreat which he made in view of ſo great an Army, was very brave, and that he never ſhow'd the greatneſs of his Courage and undaunted Reſolution, more than on this occaſion, which was the moſt dangerous in which he had ever been engag'd; but the great Captains of that time, all concurr'd in one Opinion, that he

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perform'd it rather like a valiant Soldier, who was well seconded by Fortune, than like a prudent General, whose duty it is, to take his Measures so justly, that he may not absolutely depend on the inconstancy of chance, which often, by one sudden blow, has ruin'd the most fix'd and solid Undertakings. For, that he might give his men the leisure of retiring with the Baggage, he plac'd an hundred Arquebusiers, at the entrance of the Burrough, and putting himself at the Head of two hundred Horse, he advanc'd almost half a League towards the Enemy, coming up within Pistol-shot of them, and made many discharges upon the Carabins, which march'd at the Head of the Army, whom he immediately stopp'd. But the Duke of *Parma*, having receiv'd information, that he was there in Person, so weakly attended, and out of his Generals Post, first sent out his light-Horse against him, and after them, the Body of his men at Arms, who drove him back into *Aumale*. His hundred Arquebusiers were there almost all of them cut in pieces, and he

he was in danger to have been inclos'd, and either kill'd or taken, had not the night come on apace, during which, the Enemies unwilling to engage themselves any farther, without having first discover'd the Country, he fortunately brought off his men, in that dangerous Retreat ; in which he was shot in the Reins with a Pistol-Bullet ; but the Discharge being made at too great a distance, it only raz'd his Skin, without farther harm : His Enemies themselves, and principally the Duke of *Parma*, in this Combat, admir'd his Valour, and his good Fortune, but gave no great commendations to his Conduct, and the Marshal *de Biron*, who us'd to speak his mind freely, cou'd not hold from telling him at his return, that it was unbecoming a great King to do the duty of a Carabin.

In the mean time *Villars*, willing to make advantage of his Absence, perform'd one of the most gallant Actions which were done in the course of the whole War. For being inform'd by his Spies, in what order the Camp of the Besiegers lay ; he

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on the twenty sixth of *February*, made a furious Sally out of all the Gates which were opposite to the Key; which, in effect, was worth to him the gaining of a Battel. For having surpris'd the Enemy, and carry'd all the Quarters which look'd towards those Gates, at a brisk Charge, which he made on them severally, at the same time, he possess'd himself of the Trenches and all the Camp which was on that side; where, during almost two hours that he was Master of them, his Infantry beat down, overthrew, wasted and burnt the Tents, Gabions, Batteries, Utensils, Ammunition, Powder and Baggage; fill'd up the Trenches, spoil'd the Mines, nail'd the Cannon, destroy'd or made useless almost all their Labour, while himself advancing with four Squadrons of chosen men, against the Marshal *de Biron* (who was hastening thither, though somewhat of the latest, from his Quarters at *Dernetal*, to the Succour of his Men) made good his Retreat with great bravery, returning often to the Charge, that his Infantry might have leisure

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to make havock of all things, and afterwards to retire with him, which they did, and he re-enter'd the Town in triumph, with more than an hundred Prisoners, and five great pieces of Cannon, having kill'd above five hundred men, twelve Captains, two Colonels, and disorder'd and routed the greatest part of the Camp, without the loss of more than thirty men.

After this great Success, *Villars* held himself to be in so good a Condition of defence, that he sent, to desire of the two Dukes, to supply him only with Money for Payment of the Garrison, as believing that he shou'd need no other Succours. But the King, who at his return, soon redress'd the Disorders, and forwarded the Siege, having shut up the River both above and below the Town, with a great number of Barques, which were well equipp'd, and ten great *Holland* Vessels, which were brought him by Count *Philip* of *Nassau*, the Town was reduc'd to a want of Provisions, in two monerhs time. Infomuch, that *Villars* was con-

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constrain'd to give notice to the Dukes, who were refreshing their Army beyond the *Somme*, that the Citizens were not of the same mind with the *Parisians*, to dye of Famine, and that therefore he shou'd be forc'd to capitulate, in case he was not reliev'd within eight days.

At this News, the Dukes, who on the other hand understood, that the Kings Army was much weaken'd with hard Duty and Suffering at so long a Siege, in one day reassembled all their Forces, march'd without their Baggage, re-pass'd the *Somme*, made thirty Leagues in four days time, and on the twentieth of *April*, appear'd in Battalia within a League of *Rouen*. The Head-officers enter'd the City that Evening, because the King, (who was not able to make Resistance at one time, against a great Army which lay without, and a Garrison within the Town, encourag'd by the presence of so powerful a Relief) was constrain'd to raise the Siege, and to retire to *Pont de l' Arch*, where the Nobility, and the Troops which he had before sent off, to refresh themselves

selves in the adjacent Country, re-assembled within five or six days, to the number of three thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot. Then finding himself superiour in strength to the Army of the Dukes, who having taken the small Town of *Caudebec*, were gone to take up their Quarters at *Tvetot*, and to cover it; he march'd directly towards them, with a Resolution, either to force them to a Battel, or to enclose them within a little corner of the Countrey of *Caux*, cutting them off from all manner of Provisions, and taking from them all means of their Retreat.

And truly his Design in all probability must have succeeded; for having forc'd them, after many small Skirmishes, wherein he had still the advantage, to forsake their Quarters at *Tvetot*, and to retire by night to a more secure Post, within a quarter of a League of *Caudebec*, he surrounded them, and shut them up so straightly, that they cou'd neither subsist any longer, all the Passages for Victuals being seiz'd, nor yet retire, having at their Back an Arm of the Sea, and before  
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them an Enemy, who was stronger than themselves: nor could they fight, without being evidently expos'd to a total Overthrow. But the good Fortune, the Skill and great Genius of the Duke of *Parma*, overcame all these Difficulties, and in one night drew them out of that imminent Danger of perishing, when no appearance of safety was remaining to them. For under protection of two great Forts, which he had rais'd on the two Banks of the River, with Redoubts, which commanded the Water, and great Out-works, which on his side were advanc'd towards the Kings Army, as if he had intended to have expected them within his Retrenchments; on the twelfth of *May* at night, he pass'd over his whole Army, his Baggage, and his Cannon, in a great number of large Boats, cover'd with Beams and Boards, which he had order'd to be convey'd down from *Rouen*. Inasmuch, that at break of Day, every thing was in safety on the other side the *Seine*; and the King, who discover'd this wonderful Stratagem too late,

late, was not able to hinder the Prince *Ranuccio Farnese*, who with fourteen or fifteen hundred men had cover'd this Retreat in the great Fort, and in the Out-works, from filing off with his Men, and passing them all over together with his four pieces of Cannon, on the Boats and Ferry-boats, which he afterwards set on fire.

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Thus the Duke of *Parma* found the means in one night, to put a great River, which in that place was a mile and a half broad, betwixt his Army and that of the King, who admir'd that Action, as the Masterpiece of one of the greatest Captains in the World. And without giving the King leisure to pursue him by *Pont de l'Arche*, he prevented him in such manner by his diligence, that in four days he was got into *La Brie*, by re-passing the *Seine* on a Bridge of Boats, right over against *Charenton*. After which, having re-inforc'd *Paris* with fifteen hundred *Walloons*, and taken the Town of *Epernay*, where he pass'd the *Marne*, he re-conducted his Forces into the *Low-Countries*, having



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ving acquir'd immortal Glory, by performing his Designs at two several times, against a great King, without hazarding his Army, and forcing him to raise his Sieges from before two the greatest Cities in the Kingdom, *Paris* and *Roën*.

Now, as it often happens, that evil is the unexpected occasion of good, so the Siege of *Roën*, which succeeded not happily to the King, produc'd a Negotiation, which dispos'd all things so well, in order to his Conversion, that it may be said to have sow'd the Seeds, which not long afterwards produc'd so excellent a Fruit. The Duke of *Mayenne* mortally hated the *Spaniards*, who had openly declar'd, they wou'd not succour him, in case he did not oblige himself, to act in such manner, that the States shou'd elect the *Infanta*, with that Person, who shou'd be given her for Husband; of which he had been constrain'd to give them Hopes, though he had resolv'd beforehand to do nothing in it. He had likewise joyn'd with the Politicks, who were now the strongest in *Paris*,

*vis*, against the shatter'd remnants of the Faction of Sixteen: Those Politicks had also admitted him to be their Head, but on condition that a Treaty shou'd be set on foot with the King, provided he made himself a Catholick; to which terms, the Duke, who plainly saw that he cou'd no longer pretend to the Crown, had at length submitted.

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On the other side, the King found himself very uneasie, and much perplext, betwixt the *Hugonots* and *Catholicks* of his Party; for the first perpetually apprehending that he wou'd escape out of their Possession, kept close about him, and growing more and more jealous of his Carriage, were thinking to choose themselves another Protector. And the greatest part of the Catholicks, some of them really despighted, and others seemingly, that he delay'd too long to be instructed in the Catholick Religion, and consequently converted to it, form'd amongst themselves a new Union, which they call'd by the Name of the third Party, of which the young Cardinal of *Bourbon* was declar'd

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declar'd Head ; who expected, that if the King shou'd continue obstinate in his Heresie, those who had hitherto follow'd him only in hopes of his Conversion, wou'd in conclusion abandon his Party, and place him on the Throne. And truly it might reasonably be fear'd, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was strongly solicited to have joyn'd that Party with his own, in order to elect a King of the Royal House, wou'd at length have consented to that Proposition, rather than endure the *Spaniards* shou'd elect that Person who was to espouse their *Infanta*, even though he were a Prince of his own Family.

Things being thus favourably dispos'd on both sides, towards the conclusion of a Peace, the *Sieurs du Plessis Mornay*, and *de Villeroy*, were chosen to labour in this Treaty, which was to be kept exceeding private. In the beginning of it, there was started a great preliminary Difficulty, which was of necessity to be surmounted before any thing could be propos'd, touching the Conditions  
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and Articles of the Treaty it self. For *Villeroy* was resolv'd not to enter upon it, till in the first place, the King gave assurance, that he wou'd embrace the Catholick Faith, immediately after he had been instructed in it; and *du Pleſſis* remonstrated on the other side, that this Proposal shock'd both his Honour and his Conscience, because in case he held not both Religions to be indifferent to him, and by that means wou'd pass for an Atheist, he ought not to be oblig'd, to make choise of one in particular, before his Doubts were remov'd, and his Conscience satisfy'd that it was the true Religion. But in conclusion, a temperament was found, which was, that the King, without offending either his Honour or his Conscience, shou'd cause himself to be instructed within six Months, with a true desire to be converted; that, in the mean time, he shou'd grant leave to the Catholick Princes and Lords of his Party, to send a Deputation to the Pope, to petition him, that he wou'd confirm by his Authority, this holy Resolution; and that in

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expectation of its Accomplishment, the treaty of Peace shou'd still proceed; which being once concluded, the King shou'd be acknowledg'd by the Princes of the *League*. He consented without making any difficulties, to these two preliminary Articles, without which, there was no entering into the Negotiation. And with the same ease they came to an Agreement on the Articles, which concern'd in general the Party of the *League*; but when they proceeded to the particular Interests of the several Confederate Lords, the Duke of *Mayenne* made such high and exorbitant Demands for himself and them, as were manifestly tending to the dismembring of the State; so that in conclusion, seeing he wou'd abate nothing of them, they were forc'd to break off the Conference, after two Moneths that were spent in the Negotiation.

It procur'd notwithstanding, this good effect, that the King continued fixt in the Resolution which he had taken, to cause himself to be instructed in good earnest, and to permit his

his Catholique Lords to send their Deputies to the Pope, who were the Cardinal *de Gondy*, and the Marquess *de Pisany*. *Innocent* the Ninth, who had succeeded *Gregory* the Fourteenth the year before, had, like him, declar'd openly in favour of the *League*. He had also created Cardinal *Philippo Sega*, Bishop of *Placentia*, and made him his Legat in *France*; whom Cardinal *Cajetan*, returning to *Rome* after the death of *Sixtus Quintus*, had left at *Paris* in his place, there to be serviceable to the *League*, as in effect he was to the utmost of his power. *Clement* the Eighth, having succeeded this Pope, who enjoy'd not the Papacy above two months, at the beginning follow'd the steps of his two Predecessors, and suffering himself to be prepossess'd by the *Spaniards*, wou'd not so much as give Audience to those Deputies; yet their Deputation, as shall be manifest in due time, fail'd not to produce those happy effects which were expected from it, and which were fatal to the *League*.

In the mean time, the King always pursuing his point, went to retake

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the Town of *Epernay*, after the Marshal de *Biron*, who was set down before it, and had begun to form the Siege, was slain by the shot of a Falconet, which took off his Head as he was going to observe the place. In pursuance therefore of his design, that he might make himself Master of all *Brye*, he besieged and took in the space of three days the Town of *Provins*, which is the Capital of that Country : After which he built a Fortress in the Isle of *Charney*, betwixt *Meaux* and *Paris*, within four Leagues of that great City ; thereby to hinder it from being any ways supplied by the *Marne*, which brings into it a great part of the Commodities of *La Brie* and *Champaign*.

On the other side, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who having not strength sufficient to oppose this progress of the Kings success, was unable to do any thing for the relief of *Paris*, but only to take *Crespy* in *Valois*, resolv'd at last to imploy that formidable machine against the King, with which he had so long been threatned ; I mean, the Assembly General of the States,

States, therein to proceed to the Election of a new King, who shou'd be of the Catholick Religion; of which all the Kings of *France*, as Eldest Sons of the Church, have made a constant profession since the time of *Clowis* the Great, who after his Baptism deserv'd the glorious Surname of *Most Christian*, which he has transmitted without the least interruption, to all his Successors, during the space of almost twelve hundred years, from him to King *Henry* the Third deceas'd.

The Duke had solemnly oblig'd himself, more than once to call this Assembly, but he had always delay'd it with great Art, both for the Interest of the State, and for his own particular concernment. For on the one side, he always fear'd that the *Spaniards* (who spar'd for nothing to gain the Deputies from him, partly by Bribes, and partly by the presence of a great Army, which they intended yet once again to send into *France*, under the Duke of *Parma*, to protect the States as they gave out) at length shou'd compass their design, which was, to procure their *Infanta* to be



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Elected : And on the other , plainly foreseeing that he shou'd not be Elect-ed himself, because he cou'd not marry the *Infanta* ; he resolv'd no other shou'd be chosen, that he might not lose that Sovereign Authority, which he cou'd maintain no longer than till the States had made an Election of a new King.

But after all , he cou'd no longer resist the pressing solicitations, which the great Cities of his Party , the *Spaniards* , the Pope himself and his Legat made him continually, putting him in mind of the promise he had so often given of calling that Assembly. And that which fix'd him at last in this determination , was , that the Duke of *Parma*, who was assembling his Forces to enter *France* for the third time, dyed in the midst of these consultations, on the fifth of *December* : For he believ'd that the *Spaniards*, having now no General , who was any way comparable to the *Genius* of that great Man, wou'd leave him the command of their Armies, or at least, not being able to make any great progress, wou'd be no longer so formidable to him,

him, which fell out accordingly. On which consideration, he made no longer scruple to assemble the Deputies, which already had been chosen in the Provinces and in the Towns, not doubting but since he had for him, besides a great part of those Deputies, the Parliament, the Town house, the greatest part of the Colonels, and the Faction of the Politiques; that he shou'd be able with ease, to break all the measures of the *Spaniards*, and those few Malecontents which were yet remaining of the Sixteen, whom he no longer regarded but as a sort of Rabble, whose impotent fury he contemn'd. And it was for this very reason, that he at last resolv'd the Assembly shou'd be held at *Paris*, notwithstanding all the Artifices of the *Spaniards*, who endeavour'd that it shou'd be at *Rheims*, or at *Soissons*, where the Duke cou'd not secure to himself those great advantages which he had at *Paris*.

The Assembly then was appointed to be held in the Month of *January*: And while the Deputies were coming to *Paris*, the Duke of *Mayenne* publish'd

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lish'd an ample Declaration, bearing date the fifth of *January*, in which, after he had justify'd the Arms of the *League*, by all the most plausible reasons he cou'd urge, and principally by the great motive of Religion, which at last must give place to Heresie, if an Heretick King shou'd be receiv'd; he invited all the Princes, Prelates, Lords, and Catholique Officers, who were of the opposite party, to meet the rest of that Assembly, that they might all co-operate without other consideration, than only the Glory of God and the publick good, in choice of those means, which shou'd be found most proper for the preservation of Religion and the State; making his protestation against such who shou'd refuse so reasonable a way, that they were to be esteem'd the cause of all those mischiefs and misfortunes, which from that time forward shoud ensue.

The Legat made his Declaration apart, but in a much more odious manner; because instead of containing himself within the general terms of the good of Religion and the State,  
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as the Duke of *Mayenne* had done, he invited the Catholiques to meet in the States, for the Election of a King, who shou'd be a Catholick in practice as well as in profession, and who, by his power, was able to support Religion and the State: By which words he seem'd evidently to point out the King of *Spain*.

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It was not hard for the King to answer these two Declarations, with solid Arguments, and to make a like protestation against the Authors of them, by an Edict of the same Month. And in the mean while, the Deputies being almost all arriv'd, they went in procession to the Church of *Nostre-Dame*, where having receiv'd the holy Communion, they heard a Sermon, which was Preach'd to them by the famous *Genebrard*, to the great scandal of all true *Frenchmen*, and well-meaning people in that Congregation.

This Doctor was certainly one of the most able Men of the Age, but especially in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and the *Hebrew Tongue*, whereof he was the Kings Professor

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at *Paris* : But by that unhappy fatality, or rather excess of immoderate Zeal, which drew almost all the Doctors of *Paris* into the League, he embrac'd it so passionately, that he was always one of the most fiery, and headstrong defenders of it ; which quality, joyn'd to his profound Learning, was the cause that Gregory the Fourteenth, that great Protector of the League, gave him the Archbishoprick of *Aix*, after the death of *Alexander Canigrany* ; who dyed at *Rome*.

Now, he being one of the principal Deputies for the Order of the Clergy, and having acquir'd much Reputation and Authority by his rare knowledge, was desir'd to Preach this Sermon : In which, instead of exhorting the Deputies according to Gods Word, that they shou'd have nothing before their eyes, in all their Debates and Consultations, but only the preservation of the State and of Religion, which is the strongest support of it ; he inforc'd himself to prove by weak, sophistical reasons, that their Assembly had power to change

change and abolish the *Salique* Law, that is, the fundamental Law of the Realm, which has been always inviolably observ'd, since the establishment of the *French* Monarchy even to this day: As if the States, who have no other power than that of representing by way of Petition, what they believe to be necessary for the good and maintenance of the State, had the authority of destroying it, by ruining and undermining the foundations which support it, and which preserve it from falling into the hands of strangers. But the reason of this was, that the Doctor, being a true Leaguer, and a false *Frenchman*, as one who was devoted to the service of King *Philip*, like the Sixteen, in whole Faction he was engag'd, endeavour'd to incline the Minds of the Deputies, to dispose of the Crown of *France* to the *Infanta* of *Spain*, according to the intentions of the *Spaniards*, who had given him instructions to Preach up this wicked and notoriously false maxim, for sound Doctrine and for Gospel-Truth.

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The Duke of *Mayenne*, who notwithstanding that he was Head of the *League*, had the Soul of a good *Frenchman*, and was one who lov'd his Country, as the King himself acknowledg'd, had a much different prospect of things, and without concerning himself at this idle discourse, because he knew it was in his power to hinder it from taking effect, open'd the States-General on the Twenty sixth of *January*, in the Great Hall of the *Lowvre*; where all Ceremonies were punctually observ'd in the same manner, as they are always practis'd in States which are lawfully Assembled. And all that pleasant turn of *Burlesque*, which is given to the description of it, by the ingenious Author of the *Catholicon* of *Spain*, is no other than pure invention of a great *Wir*, who under those delightful Fictions, hides many sharp Truths, which justly decry the Party of the *League*.

For indeed there was no other Procession, than that which was made by all the Deputies, when they went in a Body to perform their Devotions at *Nostre-Dame*. As for that other  
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of *Monks*, who were arm'd, over the different habits of their Orders, which is describ'd so pleasantly in the beginning of the *Catholicon*, and which is still to be seen in several Prints, it means no more than the Muster of those Ecclesiastiques and Religious, whom the Author of that Satyr has transported from the Siege of *Paris*, to those States, disguising his Fable into a Procession, to make his Work more divertising to the Reader.

The Formalities there were according to the usual custom, excepting only that the Duke of *Mayenne*, as Lieutenant-General of the State, and Crown of *France*, was seated under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold, which was never seen practis'd in former times. The three Orders took their places, after the usual manner: That of the Clergy was very numerous: There was but a thin appearance of Lords and Gentlemen in that of the Nobles: But to add more lustre to it, *Monsieur de Mayenne*, as if he were invested with Sovereign Power and Authority, took that Prerogative which belongs only to the King; which was, to create

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ate an Admiral, namely, the Marquess *de Villars*; and four Marshals of *France*, the *Sieurs de Chastre* and *de Boisdauphin*, whose Families are well known to be ancient; *Rosae*, a Gentleman of *Lorraine*, Younger Brother of the House of *Savigny*, Lord of *Rosae* in the Dutchy of *Barr*, and *St. Paul*, a Soldier of Fortune, who by his Valor and Military Skill, had acquir'd the Title of Nobles.

*Monsieur de Mayenne*, after the death of the Duke of *Guise*, whose Creature this Captain was, had intrusted him with the Government of *Champaigne*, where after having made himself Master of *Rheims*, *Mezieres*, and *Vitry*, he had the boldness to possess himself by force of the Dutchy of *Rhetelois*, and to hold it in quality of Duke, by virtue of the Donation which he said he had from the Pope, as the King writ word to the Duke of *Nevers* from the Camp before *Chartres*: But at last his intolerable pride, accompanied with the Tyranny which he exercis'd in that Province, cost him his Life by the hand of the young Duke of *Guise*, who laid him dead at his

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his feet by a thrust of his Sword which pierc'd his heart ; because that Prince having civilly requested him to withdraw the Soldiers out of *Rheims*, which he had plac'd there to assure himself of that City ; this pretended Marshal, who wou'd in contempt of him be absolute, had told him in a haughty manner, and laying his hand on his Sword, that he would not do it.

To proceed, the Duke of *Mayenne*, as Lieutenant-General of the State, having thus created an Admiral, and four Marshals of *France*, thought what he had done wou'd be of great consequence to the Authorising these mock-States of *Paris*, and to confirm his own power together with the establishment of his Party. But the Lord of *Chanvallon*, who had as much Wit as he had Courage, and who foresaw the consequences of that action, said freely to him : *Look well to your self, Sir, for by this new Creation, you have begotten so many Bastards, as will one day legitimate themselves at your cost and charges.* And this indeed was verified not long after, in the Persons  
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of *Villars, La Chastre, and Boisdaphin*, who forsook the Duke, and made their Treaty with the King, that they might be maintain'd by a lawful Authority, in those high dignities which the King alone, to the exclusion of all others, can bestow. And if the Baron of *Rosne*, who was of Birth and Merit sufficient to have been Marshal, had been possess'd of Towns like the others, which he might have surrendered to the King after their example, he might have been legitimated as well as they; and then those Cities had not been lost, which the *Spaniards* (to whom he went over, after having been refus'd by the King) took under his conduct and by his valour, in the Province of *Picardy*.

Thus I have given an account of the Order of the Nobles in these States: As for the third Order, it was compos'd of a few considerable persons, and of a great number of such as were pack'd together, and who serv'd only to make a show of a full Assembly. The Speeches which are to be seen in the *Catholicon*, as if made by *Rapin, Monsieur Gillot*, Counsellor of the Court;

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Court, *Florent Chrestien*, and Mr. *Pierre Pithou*, are only invented for the pleasure of the Reader. For there were spoken only four, according to the usual custom of other States: *Monsieur de Mayenne* open'd these by a Speech of his own; wherein to answer the expectation of the Deputies, he declar'd, that this Assembly was only call'd, that therein they might proceed to the election of a Catholick King; which notwithstanding was far from his intention, for his whole endeavours were to frustrate that choice, as in effect he did. The Cardinal of *Pelleve*, who began very much to decline in his Parts, said nothing that was material in speaking for the Order of the Clergy, which he represented: The Baron of *Senecey* for the Nobles, and the *Sieur de Laurence*, Advocate General of the Parliament of *Provence*, for the third State, spoke incomparably better, each of them after his own manner; the last like a great Orator, and the former like a prudent Gentleman.

In the mean time, the King, who was unacquainted with the secret drift

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of the Duke of *Mayenne*'s intentions, was very much in fear that in this Assembly they wou'd elect a King, who being own'd for such by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the greatest part of the Potentates of Christendom, by all the Catholiques of the *League*, and perhaps also by those of the third Party, whom he ever suspected, wou'd at least prolong the War, and might possibly remain Conqueror. In order to the prevention of so great an evil, he thought good that the Catholiques of his Party shou'd send a Trumpet to the Assembly with an Authentique Act, by which they gave them to understand, that since the Duke of *Mayenne* had signified by his Declaration, that he had call'd that Assembly with intention to find the means of preserving Religion and the State; they were most ready to send their Deputies, to confer with theirs at some place near *Paris*, which shou'd be agreed on by both Parties, to the end they might compass so great a blessing, which was the aim of their desires; protesting that in case they refus'd this reasonable

sonable Proposition, they shou'd be held guilty of all those evils, which shou'd be produc'd by the continuation of so bloody a War.

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'Tis a wonderful kind of blindness, which a strong passion produces in a Mind that suffers it self to be prepossess'd with it; that how clear-sighted soever it be naturally, yet it sees not those things which are obvious to the most common capacities at the first glance. The Proposition was made in the plainest and most intelligible terms, without the least ambiguity in their meaning, that there shou'd be a conference betwixt the Catholiques of the two Parties, to consider of the safest ways which cou'd be found for the preservation of Religion and the State; yet the Cardinal Legat consulting only the violent passion which he had to support the Faction of the Sixteen against the King, and to exclude him from the Crown, cry'd out, that this Proposition of the Catholique Royalists was contrary to the Law of God, who forbids any communication with Heretiques; and the Doctors, who were devoted to

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the *League*, to whom that message was sent to be examin'd, declar'd it to be schismatical and Heretical. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had another prospect of things than the *Leaguers* and *Spaniards*, and who was resolv'd to hinder the election of a King, manag'd that affair so dexterously, that it was concluded in the States, that the conference shou'd be accepted, betwixt those only who were Catholiques of the two Parties, in the same manner as it was propos'd. Notwithstanding which, it was not held till two months after, at the end of *April*, in the Burrough of *Surenne*, because the Duke of *Mayenne*, who desir'd only to gain time for the compassing his ends, was gone, before he return'd his answer, to meet the *Spanish* Army, which was commanded by Count *Charles* of *Mansfield*. That Duke was of opinion, that with their assistance he might take all the places on the *Seine*, both above and below, which inconvenient'd *Paris*. But the Army being so very weak, that with his own Forces which were added to it, there were not in all above 10000 Men;

Men; all that he cou'd do was only to take *Noyon*, which employed his time; after which, it was so much diminish'd by the protraction of that Siege which had cost so much blood, that the Count was forc'd to return to *Flanders*.

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As for the Conference, though it was made with much more preparation and magnificence than all the former, it had yet the same destiny attending it, because the two Heads of the Deputation on either side, *Renard de Beaun*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, for the Royalists, and *Peter d' Espinat*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, for the *League*, two of the most dextrous and eloquent men of that Age, were both of them somewhat too well conceited of their own parts, and maintain'd their opinions with too much wit and too great vehemence, to come to an agreement in their disputations against each other. The Archbishop of *Bourges*, in the three Speeches which he made for the establishment of his Proposition, and for the confirmation of it, by refuting those answers which were made him, omitted no force of

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Arguments, which cou'd be drawn from Reason, to induce those of the *League* to a belief of these three points, which he maintain'd constantly, and with great vigour, to the end, as Truths indubitable.

The First was, 'That there is an  
'indispensable obligation of Acknow-  
'ledging and Honouring as King, Him  
'to whom the Crown belongs, by the  
'inviolable right of Lawful Successi-  
'on, without regard to the Religion  
'he professes, or to his way of Life.  
'And this he prov'd first by the Testi-  
'monies of Jesus Christ and his Apo-  
'stles, who command us to honour  
'Kings and Higher Powers, and to  
'pay them that obedience which is  
'due to them, even though they  
'shou'd be Unbelievers and wicked  
'men; declaring that every man  
'ought to submit himself to the pow-  
'ers which are ordain'd by God, and  
'that to do otherwise is to resist his  
'Will, and trouble the order and tran-  
'quillity of the Publick. Secondly,  
'By examples drawn from the Old Te-  
'stament, where we see that *Zetlekiah*  
'was sharply reprehended and punish'd  
'by

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‘by God, for having revolted against  
 ‘the King of the *Chaldeans* ; that the  
 ‘People of *Israel* obey’d *Nebuchadne-  
 zar* in the *Babylonish* Captivity by the  
 ‘Command of God ; and that the  
 ‘Prophets *Ahijah* and *Elijah* , were  
 ‘content to reprove those Kings, who  
 ‘believ’d not in God, as *Jeroboam* and  
 ‘*Ahab*, without ever revolting against  
 ‘them. Thirdly, By the Example of  
 ‘the Christians in all Ages, who had  
 ‘suffer’d peaceably the dominion of  
 ‘Idolatrous Emperors, Tyrants, and  
 ‘Persecutors of the Church ; and had  
 ‘not refus’d to acknowledge for their  
 ‘Sovereigns, those Emperors who had  
 ‘fallen into Heresie, such as *Constan-  
 tius*, *Valens*, *Zeno*, *Anastasius*, *H-  
 raelius*, *Constantine* the Fourth, and  
 ‘the Fifth, *Leo* the Third and Fourth,  
 ‘*Theophilus* , and the *Gothique* Kings  
 ‘in *Italy*, the *Vandals* in *Affrica*, and  
 ‘the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, and in *Gaul*,  
 ‘though they were all of them *Ari-  
 ans*.

‘From thence passing to the second  
 ‘point, he added, That by a more  
 ‘convincing reason, they were bound  
 ‘to obey the present King, who by

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‘Gods

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Gods Grace was neither *Pagan* nor  
*Arian*, nor a Persecutor of the  
 Church and of Catholiques, whom  
 he protected and maintain'd in all  
 their Rights; who believ'd with  
 them in the same God, the same Je-  
 sus Christ, and the same Creed: And  
 though he was divided from them  
 by some errors, which he had suck'd  
 in, as we may say, with his milk,  
 and which he had never renounc'd  
 but by a forc'd conversion with the  
 Dagger at his Throat; yet this not-  
 withstanding it cou'd not be said,  
 that he was confirm'd in them with  
 that obstinacy which constitutes He-  
 resie, since he was wholly resolv'd  
 to forsake them as soon as he shou'd  
 be instructed in the truth; which  
 occasion'd him with all modesty to  
 maintain, that he ought not to pass  
 with them for an Heretique. That  
 for the rest, by Gods blessing there  
 was great probability of hope, that  
 he wou'd suddenly be converted;  
 that he was already altogether in-  
 clin'd to it, as appear'd by the per-  
 mission which he had given to the  
 Catholique Princes and Lords, to  
 send

‘send at his proper costs and charges, Ann. 1493.  
‘the Marquess of *Pisany* to our Holy  
‘Father, and to make this present  
‘Conference with them: That he had  
‘even uncover’d his Head with great  
‘respect, in beholding a Procession at  
‘*Mante*, which pass’d by his Win-  
‘dows; that not long before this time,  
‘he had solemnly renew’d the promise  
‘which he had made, to cause him-  
‘self to be instructed, and that he  
‘wou’d infallibly accomplish it with  
‘the soonest.

And upon this, to acquit himself  
of what he had propos’d in the third  
place, he set himself to adjure them,  
with the strongest reasons, and the  
most tender expressions he cou’d  
use, that they wou’d joyn themselves  
with the Kings Party, for the accom-  
plishment of so good a work, and bear  
their part in that Instruction, and con-  
sequently Conversion of so great a  
King; who receiving at their hands  
that duty to which they were oblig’d,  
wou’d assuredly give them the satis-  
faction which they wish’d, and which  
he was not in a capacity of giving  
them, at a time when they demand-  
ing

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ing it with Arms in their hands, it would have appear'd that he had done it only on compulsion.

On the other side, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, who was not endu'd with less Eloquence and Knowledge than the Archbishop of *Bourges*, answering in order to those three points which were propos'd by that Prelate ; said, in the name of all his Colleagues, 'That they acknowledg'd they ought 'to own for King, Sovereign Lord, 'and Head of the *French* Monarchy, 'Him to whom the Kingdom belong'd 'by a lawful Succession : But since Religion ought to be preferr'd before 'Flesh and Blood, this Monarch of 'necessity must be a Most Christian 'King, both in name and reality ; and 'that according to all Laws both Divine and Humane, it was not permitted them to give obedience to an Heretique King, in a Kingdom subject-ed to Jesus Christ, by receiving and 'professing the Catholique Religion. 'That God in the Old Testament had 'forbidden a King to be set up, who 'was not of the number of the Brethren, that is to say, of the same Religion,

‘ligion, which constitutes a true Bro-  
 ‘therhood : That in prosecution of  
 ‘this order, the Priests and Sacrificers  
 ‘of *Israel* had withdrawn themselves  
 ‘from the obedience of King *Jerobo-*  
 ‘*am*, as soon as he had renounc’d the  
 ‘worship of the true God. That the  
 ‘Towns of — and *Libnah*, which  
 ‘were the portion of the *Levites*, who  
 ‘were the best instructed in the Law  
 ‘of God, had forsaken *Joram*, King of  
 ‘*Judah*, for the same reason: That  
 ‘*Amaziah* and Queen *Athaliah*, ha-  
 ‘ving abandon’d the Religion of their  
 ‘Forefathers, had been depos’d by the  
 ‘general consent of all the Orders of  
 ‘the Kingdom; and that the *Maccha-*  
 ‘*bees* were renown’d and prais’d  
 ‘through all the World, as the last  
 ‘Heroes of the ancient Law, because  
 ‘they had taken Arms against *Antio-*  
 ‘*chus* their Sovereign Prince, for the  
 ‘defence of their Religion.

‘That the people of the *Jews* did  
 ‘indeed obey the King of the *Chalde-*  
 ‘*ans*, but they had bound themselves  
 ‘by Oath so to do, according to the  
 ‘express command which God had gi-  
 ‘ven them by his Prophets, for pu-  
 ‘nishment

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'punishment of their abominations'  
 'for which reason he subjected them  
 'to the dominion of an Infidel: But  
 'as for themselves, they were so far  
 'from having entred into such an en-  
 'gagement, that they had made one,  
 'by the Authority of his Holiness,  
 'quite to the contrary, that they  
 'wou'd never acknowledge an Here-  
 'tique for their King. And as for the  
 'Christians, who threw not off their  
 'obedience to their Emperors and  
 'Kings who were Heretiques, 'tis  
 'most certain that they obey'd only  
 'out of pure necessity, and because  
 'they wanted power; but that their  
 'Hearts and Affections had no part in  
 'it: Witness the harshness with which  
 'the Holy Fathers have treated them  
 'in their Writings; where they call  
 'them Wolves, Dogs, Serpents, Ty-  
 'gers, Dragons, Lyons, and Anti-  
 'christ, in conformity to the Gospel,  
 'which wills, that he who is revolted  
 'from the Church, should be held  
 'and treated like a Pagan; so far it is  
 'from authorising us to hold him for  
 'a King, much less a Most Christian  
 'King. For what remains, besides  
 'the

'the Councils receiv'd in *France*, and  
'the Imperial Laws, which declare  
'Heretiques to be unworthy of any  
'kind of honour, dignity, or publick  
'office, much more of Royalty: The  
'Fundamental Law of the *French* Mo-  
'narchy is most exprefs in this parti-  
'cular, by the Oath which the Most  
'Christian Kings take at their Coro-  
'nation, to maintain the Catholique  
'Religion, and to exterminate all He-  
'refies; in confideration of which,  
'they receive the Oath of Allegiance  
'from their Subjects; and that the  
'last States had decreed, with the ge-  
'neral applaufe of all good *Frenchmen*,  
'that they wou'd never depart from  
'that Law, which was accepted and  
'sworn to solemnly, as a fundamen-  
'tal of the State.

'In fine, to close up all which he  
'had to fay, in relation to this first  
'point, he added, That without this,  
'it was impossible to preserve Religi-  
'on in *France*, becaufe an Heretique  
'Prince wou'd not be wanting to eſta-  
'bliſh Hereſie in his States; as well by  
'his example which would be leading  
'to his Subjects, as by his authority  
'which



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‘which cou’d not long be resisted : As  
 ‘it was too manifest in the Kingdom  
 ‘of *Israel*, which *Jeroboam* turn’d to  
 ‘Idolatry ; and as it has since been  
 ‘seen in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, the Prote-  
 ‘stant States of *Germany*, and in *Eng-*  
 ‘land ; where the people following  
 ‘the example of their Princes , and  
 ‘bending under their authority, have  
 ‘suffer’d themselves to be unhappily  
 ‘drawn into that Abyss of Heresies,  
 ‘in which they are plung’d at this ve-  
 ‘ry day.

And thereupon, passing to the o-  
 ther points of the Archbishop of *Bour-*  
*ges* his Speech, he said in few words,  
 ‘That it cou’d not be doubted but the  
 ‘King of *Navarre* was an obstinate  
 ‘Heretique, and no way inclin’d to be  
 ‘converted, since for so long a time  
 ‘he had continued to maintain Errors  
 ‘condemn’d for Heresies by General  
 ‘Councils, and that he still favour’d  
 ‘the *Huguenots* more than ever, and  
 ‘especially his Preachers ; that he had  
 ‘been often invited. but still in vain,  
 ‘to reconcile himself to the Church ;  
 ‘after which it wou’d be lost labour  
 ‘for them to exhort him, particularly  
 ‘after

‘after being first acknowledg’d, as he  
‘thought to be ; that therefore they  
‘wou’d never endeavour it, and that  
‘they had all sworn, not only not to  
‘acknowledge him, but also to have  
‘no manner of commerce with him,  
‘so long as he shou’d remain an Here-  
‘tique.

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Now when the Archbishop of  
*Bourges*, who was pre-acquainted  
with the Kings secret purpose, saw,  
that after a strong reply which he had  
made to that noisy Harangue, they  
still held fast to that one point, from  
which it was impossible to remove  
them; he was of opinion, that by  
yielding it to them, the business  
wou’d soon come to an happy conclu-  
sion. For which reason, having de-  
manded time to consult thereupon,  
the Princes and Lords by whom they  
were deputed, as soon as he had re-  
ceiv’d the answer, which he knew  
before hand they wou’d make, he  
told the Deputies of the *League*, at  
the seventh Session, which was the  
seventeenth of *May*, That God had  
at the last heard their prayers and  
vows, and that they shou’d have what-  
soever

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soever they had requir'd for the safety of Religion and the State, by the conversion of the King, which they had been encourag'd to hope, and which at present was assur'd to them; since the King, who was resolv'd to abjure his Heresie, had already assembled the Prelates and the Doctors, from whom he wou'd receive the instruction, which ought to precede that great action, which all good Catholiques of both Parties had so ardently desir'd, for the reunion of themselves in a lasting peace. And to the end that it might be to the satisfaction of every man in particular, they might treat with them concerning the securities and other conditions, which they shou'd demand for their interests: Assuring them, that in order to remove all occasion of distrust, nothing shou'd be done on their side, till the King had declar'd himself effectually to be a Catholique.

This Proposition which the Deputies of the Union little expected, and which ruin'd all the pretensions of their Heads, disorder'd them so much, that after they had consulted amongst them-

themselves for an Answer, not being able to conclude on any, they thought themselves bound to report it to the Assembly of the Estates at *Paris*. And then it was clearly to be seen, that the Heads of the Party, who thought on nothing but how to satisfy each man his Ambition, under the specious pretence of great Zeal for the Catholick Faith, were much more afraid than desirous of the King's Conversion. Though it had been made evident to them, by invincible Reasons, supported by the Authority of the most learned Doctors, that Absolution might be given to the King in *France*, without recourse to *Rome*, especially since it would be given only *ad Cautelam*, and that afterwards they would send to the Pope for his Confirmation of it; they return'd this Answer by the Archbishop of *Lyons*, *That they ardently desir'd the Conversion of the King of Navarre, but that they could not believe it sincere, till his Holiness, to whose Judgment they submitted themselves, and who alone had the power of absolving him, had reconcil'd him to the Church: before which time it was not*

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permitted them to enter into any Treaty of Peace, or to take any Securities, because that wou'd be to prevent the Judgment of the Pope, and to treat at least indirectly with him, who was yet out of the Pale of the Church, which wou'd be directly against the Oath which they had taken. And thereupon, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who only sought the means of retaining as long as possibly he cou'd, that almost soveraign Authority which he had usurp'd, together with the greatest part of the Princes and Lords of his Party, took a new Oath, betwixt the Hands of the Legat, that they wou'd never acknowledge the King of *Navarre*, even though he shou'd turn Catholick, unless by the Commandment of the Pope. Thus remaining always fix'd in that Resolution, which absolutely hindred any farther progress in the Conference, after seven or eight Sessions held at *Surenne*, and two more at *Roquette*, an House belonging to the Chancellior de *Chiverny*, without *St. Antonies Gate*, and at *La Villette*, betwixt *Paris* and *St. Denis*, they concluded on nothing that was tend-

tending to the Peace, while the Spaniards still imploy'd all their Cunning and their Friends, in the Estates, to perpetuate the War by the election of a King. Ann. 1593.

For even before the Conference of Surenne was begun, the Duke of Feria, Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of Spain to the General Estates at Paris, accompanied by Don Bernardin Mendoza, Ambassador in Ordinary, Don Diego d'Ibarra, and John Baptista Tassis, presented in a full Assembly, (where he was receiv'd with great Honour) his Masters Letters, in which he exhorted them to proceed without delay to the election of a Catholick King. 'Twas that indeed, which King Philip infinitely desir'd, as well thereby to continue the Enmity betwixt the two Parties, which doubtless wou'd have been effected by the choice of a new King, as to procure the Crown for his Daughter the Infanta, as he had explain'd himself more than once already. In effect, those Spaniards were not wanting some time after, to propose her pretended Right of Proximi-

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ty, as being issued from the Daughter of King *Henry* the Second. But seeing afterwards, that they were bent upon a King, they renew'd the Proposal of marrying her to the Archduke *Ernestus*; till at last perceiving, that both these Propositions were ill relish'd, even by their most zealous Partisans, who adher'd to all the rest, in the election of a King who shou'd be a *Frenchman*, and to whom the King of *Spain* might give his Daughter in Marriage; they made a new Overture, after they had taken time to deliberate on an Affair of that importance, and said, That the King their Master, that he might give them full satisfaction, was ready to agree on the Marriage of the *Infanta*, with some *French* Prince, whom he wou'd nominate, therein comprehending the Family of *Lorrain*, since it was but reasonable that himself shou'd have the choice of the Person whom he intended for his Son in-law: but that it was also necessary that the Estates shou'd elect them, and shou'd declare both of them King and Queen of *France*, for the whole and every part of

of it ; and that he wou'd imploy the whole Forces of his Kingdoms to maintain them in it.

As almost all the Deputies were desirous of nothing more than to elect a new King who shou'd be a *Frenchman*, this Proposition which seem'd very advantagious, was receiv'd by them with so great Applause, that the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was newly return'd to the Estates, there to frustrate the Designs of the *Spaniards*, durst not undertake to oppose it directly, though he was strongly resolv'd to hinder it from taking effect, by all the ways in his power, because the Election cou'd not possibly fall on him.

And while he was plotting the means in order to it, that part of the Parliament of Peers, which was at *Paris* for the *League*, having still retain'd, notwithstanding the division of their Members, those generous Thoughts and inviolable Maximes, which they have always made appear, on all occasions, and in whatsoever condition they were, to maintain the fundamental Laws and Prerogatives of the *French* Monarchy, furnish'd

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him with an excellent Expedient. For that Court, being inform'd that the Proposition of the Spaniards seem'd to be approv'd by the Estates, on the 18<sup>th</sup>. day of June, made this memorable Decree, which contains in substance, *That not having, as indeed they never had, any other intention, than the maintenance of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion in France, under the Protection of a Most Christian King, who shou'd be both Catholick and French, they have ordain'd, and do hereby ordain, that it shall be this day remonstrated to Monsieur de Mayenne, Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France, in the presence of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, being now at Paris, that no Treaty shall be made for the transferring of the Crown into the Hands of foreign Princes or Princesses, and that he shou'd imploy the Authority committed to him, to hinder the Crown from being transferr'd into a foreign Hand, against the Laws of the Realm, under the pretence of Religion; and that the said Court, has from this present time declar'd, and does hereby declare, all those Treaties which are made, and*  
*which*

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*which shall be hereafter made, for the establishment of any foreign Prince or Princess, to be null, and of no effect and value, as made in prejudice to the Salique Law, and other fundamental Laws of the Realm of France.*

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The Duke of *Mayenne* seem'd to be very much incens'd, that they had made this Ordinance without his Participation; and vehemently upbraided *Monsieur*, the first President *Jean le Maître*, whom he had constituted in that Office: who not being acquainted with his secret intentions, answer'd him with that Gravity and Resolution, which is becoming the Head of so venerable a Company, when he performs his Duty. But in reality that dextrous Prince was glad of such an occasion, because he well hop'd, this Ordinance wou'd at least put a block in the *Spaniard's* way. But he found the contrary; for when they saw by this Decree, and by the taking of *Dreux*, (which the King had besieg'd, and after carried by force, during these Agitations) that if they made not haste in their election of a King, 'twas very probable that it wou'd be out of

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their power to elect one afterwards, they us'd their utmost Endeavours to have one chosen, in the same manner as they had first propos'd it. To put by this Blow, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who believ'd the *Spaniards* had been impowr'd only with general Instructions, and not to name him whom they judg'd most proper for their Interests, told them, that of necessity they were to expect a more particular Order from their Master, wherein he shou'd declare the individual Person, whom he chose for his Son in law.

But he was much surpriz'd, when they, who in all appearance had many Blanks, which were ready sign'd, and which they cou'd fill up with any Name to serve their occasions, shou'd him before the Cardinal Legat, and the principal Members of the Assembly, at a meeting in his House, that they were impowr'd, in due form, to name the Duke of *Guise*: yet he strove in the best manner he cou'd to conceal his inward Trouble and Anxiety for this Nomination, which his Wife the Dutchesse was not able to endure, but counsell'd him rather to make a Peace with

with the King, than to be so mean-spirited as to acknowledge that raw young Creature (for so, by way of contempt, she call'd her Nephew) for his King and Master. But the Duke of *Mayenne*, who at that time cou'd not bear any Master whomsoever, took another course, and requir'd eight days time to give in writing his Demands, for his own indemnifying, which the *Spaniards* allow'd him as fully as he cou'd desire. And in the mean time, he knew so well to manage the Minds of the greatest part of the Deputies, the Lords and Princes, and even of the Duke of *Guise* himself, by making them comprehend how unreasonable it was to create a King, before they had Forces sufficient to support him against a powerful and victorious Prince; that in spite of all those who were of the *Spanish* Interest, the Ministers of *Spain* were answer'd, that the Estates were resolv'd to proceed no farther in their Election, till they had receiv'd those great Supplies which had been promis'd them by the King their Master. In this manner the Election was deferr'd

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ferr'd by the Address of the Duke of *Mayenne* ; which Dr. *Mauclore* , a great Leaguer, most bitterly bewail'd, in a Letter which he wrote from *Paris*, to Dr. *de Creil*, another stiff Leaguer then residing at *Rome*, to manage the Interests of that Party ; and therein discov'rd the whole Secret, which in effect overthrew all the Cabals of the *Spaniards*, and the *League*, and utterly destroy'd their whole Fabrick. For many things afterwards happen'd, which broke off all speech of an Election ; of which the first and most principal, was the Conversion of the King, which is next in order to be related.

Above 9 years were already past, since he, though Head of the *Hugonots* , had been endeavouring the means of reuniting himself, together with his whole Party, to the Catholick Church. For, in the year 1584. a little before the Associated Princes of the *League* had taken Arms, the late King, having sent *Monsieur de Believre* to *Pamiers*, to declare to him, that he wou'd have the Mass re establish'd

bliss'd in the County of *Foix*, and in all the other Countreys which he held under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *France*, he caus'd one of the Ministers of his Family, who was already well inclin'd, to found the Dispositions of the other Ministers of that Countrey, and to try if there were any hope, that they would use their Endeavours uprightly and sincerely, to find the means of making a general Reunion with the Catholick Church. They gave up, without any great difficulty, all the Points in Controversie, excepting one which they laid to heart; namely, their Interest, demanding such vast proportions of Maintenance, as he was not then in a condition to give them, saying with great simplicity these very words: *That they wou'd not go a begging for their Living, (or live upon charity) like so many poor Scholars.*

Many of his Counsel, and amongst others the *Sieur de Segur*, one of those in whom he most confided, were of opinion, nevertheless, that he shou'd not give over that Undertaking; and that he shou'd endeavour to bring it about

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about quietly, and without any bustle, by gaining the leading men of his Party. And he was so well inclin'd to do it, that he cou'd not curb himself from protesting frequently, after his coming to the Crown, and particularly after the Battel of *Ivry*, that he wish'd with all his heart, they were reunited with that Church from which they had separated, and that he shou'd believe, that he had done more than any of his Predecessors, if God wou'd one day enable him to make that Reunion which was so necessary, that he might live to see all *Frenchmen*, united under the same Faith, as well as under the same King. But there is great probability for us to hope, that God had reserv'd that Glory for King *Louis* the Great his Grandson, whose unbloody Victories, which he daily obtains, in full Peace, over Heresie, by his prudent management and his Zeal, which have found the means of reducing the *Protestants* in crowds, and without violence, into the Church, may under his Reign, show us the final accomplishment of that great Work, which his Grandfather so ardently desir'd. It

It is also known, that this Prince being then only King of *Navarre*, at the time when he projected that Reunion, of which I have spoken, said one day in private to one of the Ministers, *That he could see no manner of devotion in his Religion, which all consisted in hearing a Sermon deliver'd in good French, and that he had always an opinion, that the Body of our Lord is in the holy Sacrament ; for otherwise the Communion was but an exterior Ceremony, which had nothing real and essential in it.* 'Tis in this place, that I cannot hinder my self from rendring Justice to the merit of one of the greatest Men, whom any of our Kings have imploy'd in their most important Negotiations, and who most contributed to the infusing these good Inclinations into the King of *Navarre* ; namely, *Francis de Noailles*, Bishop of *Acq's*, who has gain'd an immortal Reputation, by those great Services which he perform'd for *France*, during 35 years, under four of our Kings, in fifteen Voyages out of the Kingdom, and four solemn Embassies into *England*, *Venice*, *Rome*, and *Constantinople*. In  
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which last Employment he did so much for the interest of our Religion, with *Selim* the Grand Signior, the 2<sup>d</sup>. of that Name, and by travelling into *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, where he procur'd great Advantages and Comfort to the poor *Christians*, that the greatest Princes of Christendom thought themselves oblig'd, to make their thankful Acknowledgements of his labour to our King. Pope *Gregory* the 13<sup>th</sup>. commanded his Nuncio himself to thank the Ambassador from him, at his passage from *Venice*, on his return to *France*: and to desire him, that he wou'd use his Interest with his Brother the Abbot of *L'Isle*, who had succeeded him in many of his Negotiations, and in that Embassy, as he also did in the Bishoprick of *Acq's*, that he wou'd follow the worthy Examples which he had given him.

'Tis true that Pope *Pius* the 5<sup>th</sup>. Predecessor to *Gregory*, thought it very strange at first, that a Bishop shou'd be Ambassador for the most Christian King at the *Ottoman* Port. But, besides that the Bishop of *Agria*, a most pru-

prudent and vertuous Prelat, had exercis'd that Charge during five years, for the Emperor *Maximilian* the 2d. without the least fault found with it, he very much chang'd his opinion, after the Bishop of *Acq's*, by his credit with the Grand Signior, had obtain'd from him, that an exprefs Prohibition shou'd be made to *Piali Bassa*, General of his Navy, of making any descent on the Territories of the Church : in consideration of which Benefit, his Holiness made him a promise to promote him to the highest Dignities, with which a Pope can recompence the greatest Services that are render'd to the Church.

These were the Employments of that Bishop, whose Deserts were not less eminent than those of his elder Brother, *Anthony de Noailles*, Head of that illustrious Family, which is one of the most ancient and remarkable in *Limousin* ; who was Ambassador in *England*, Governour of *Bordeaux*, and Lieutenant for the King in *Guyenne*, where he serv'd the State and Religion with the same Zeal, which appears at this day, with so much Success and Glory in his Posterity. It

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It was then by the Motives of the same Zeal for Religion, that *Francis de Noailles*, after he had reduc'd 100 *Hugonot* Families, which he found in *Acqs*, at his coming to that Bishoprick, to the number of 12, was not wanting to make use of so fair an opportunity, as he had, to work upon the King of *Navarre*'s Inclinations, which good advice, in God's due time, had the desir'd effect. For having conferr'd with him at *Nerac*, by the King's Orders, twice or thrice, with endeavours to procure from him the re-establishment of the Catholick Religion in *Bearn*, when he found that new Difficulties were still started, he laid aside that particular Point, and coming to the Spring-head, whereon all the rest depended, he told him in the presence of *Segur*, with all the sincerity of a faithful Minister, *That his Majesty cou'd not reasonably hope to support himself by that Party, which how powerful soever it appear'd, wou'd always be too weak to bear him up (in spite of the Catholicks, who were infinitely more strong) to that pitch of heighth, to which his Birth and Fortune might one day*

day carry him : that whatsoever Wonders his Valour might perform, yet they would never be of any advantage to him; till he reconcil'd himself sincerely to the Catholick Church : and that it was impossible (they were his very words) that he could ever raise any thing that was durable for the establishment of his Fortune, either within the Realm, or without it, unless he built on this Foundation. This was what he said, when he took his leave of the King of Navarre : And some few days after this, writing from Agen to the *Sieur de Segur*, he protested to him, That his Master could never arrive to the possession of that Crown, to which he might lawfully pretend, if he made not his entrance by the Gate of the Catholick Religion ; and pray'd him therefore that he would think seriously of that Matter, for if he follow'd not his Counsel, he should one day speak to him in Petrarch's Verse,

*When Error goes before, Repentance comes behind.*

This Discourse startled *Segur*, who had much power over his Masters In-

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clinations; and it was principally on this account, that he gave him the Counsel above-mention'd, which consequently caus'd the King of *Navarre*, to consider of the means of reuniting himself to the Catholicks.

But it happening that in the midst of these Agitations, the *Leaguers* began openly to rebel, and afterwards, capitulating with Arms in their hands, obtain'd an Edict, by which the King oblig'd himself to make War with all his Power against the *Hugonots*, *Segur*, whom the King of *Navarre* had lately sent into *Germany* to desire assistance, writ to him, after he had obtain'd it, that this was not a time to think of turning Catholick, though he himself had formerly advis'd it: and that since his Enemies wou'd make him change his Religion by force, almost in the same manner as they had us'd him at the Massacre of *St. Barthol'mew*, he ought to stand bent against them, and defend his Liberty by Arms, that it might not be said, he was basely plyant to their will; and that he might change freely, with safeguard to his Honour at some other time, which

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which now he cou'd not without shame, as being by constraint.

He follow'd this Advice, which was also seconded by his Counsel. He made the War, and always appear'd at the Head of the *Hugonots*, with the success which has already been related. But being a man of a sprightly and piercing Wit, he was not wanting in the mean time to instruct himself, and that by a very artificial way. Sometimes by proposing difficult Points to his Ministers, or to speak more properly, his own Doubts and Scruples in matters of Religion, to understand on what Foundations their Opinions were built: sometimes by conferring with knowing Catholicks, and maintaining against them with the strongest Reasons he cou'd urge, the Principles which had been infus'd into him by his Ministers, on purpose to discover by their Answers, (which he compar'd with what had been told him on the other side) what was real and solid truth betwixt them. And he always continued in this manner of Instruction, clearing and fathoming the principal Points of the Con-

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troversie, and causing them to give in writing, what they had to argue *pro* or *con*; which produc'd this effect, that the *Hugonots* never believ'd him to be sound at bottom, and settled in their Religion, but repos'd much greater confidence in the late Prince of *Conde*, who was in reality a better Protestant than he.

And truly it appears exceeding credible, that, when at his coming to the Crown, he made a promise to the Catholick Princes and Lords, that he wou'd cause himself to be instructed within six months, he was already resolv'd on his Conversion; there remaining but very few things which he then scrupled, and for which he demanded some longer time, in order to his fuller satisfaction. But, as he afterwards acknowledg'd, he thought himself oblig'd to defer that good action to some more convenient opportunity, because the *Hugonots* wou'd certainly have cantoniz'd themselves, and set up under the protection of some powerful Foreigner, whom they wou'd have chosen for their Head; which must have occasion'd new

new Troubles in the Kingdom. Besides which, the Head of the *League* was at that time too strong, to think of submitting to him, even though he had declar'd himself a Catholick : and the People not being yet made sensible of the Extremities of War, and their sufferings by reason of it, were obstinately resolv'd to maintain it against him ; and consequently, he cou'd not then compass what he so ardently desir'd, which was to restore the Quiet of his Kingdom, and to settle it in peace, by embracing the Religion of his Predecessors. But somewhat before the beginning of the Conference at *Sarene*, after making a sober Reflection on the present estate of his Affairs, he plainly saw, that all things at that time concurr'd, to oblige him not to defer his Conversion any longer. For on the one side, he was assur'd of the Leading men amongst the *Hugonots*, who had the power of raising new Disturbances, many of whom, and such as were men of the greatest Interest, made no scruple to acknowledge, that in good policy he ought to go to Mass, and that

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the peaceable possession of a Great Kingdom, was worth the pains it would cost him in going. Add to this, that the Heads of the Union were so much weakned, and so little united amongst themselves, that they were in no condition of making any long resistance to his Arms, though they shou'd refuse to acknowledge him: And for the common people of the *League*, they were so overburden'd by the War which wasted them, that they desir'd nothing so much as Peace.

On the other side, he observ'd the *Spaniards* us'd all imaginable means, and did their utmost to perswade the States to create a Catholique King. That there was great danger, lest the Third Party, which not long before had laid a Plot to have surpris'd him in *Mante*, and carried him away, now joyning with the Catholique *Leaguers* who were against the *Spaniards*, shou'd elect a King on their side, which would be to embroyl *France* in worse confusions: And to conclude, that even they who were not of that Party, and who had always serv'd him with  
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inviolable faith, now besought him to defer no longer his conversion ; and besought him in such a manner, that they gave him easily to understand they wou'd forsake him, in case he forsook not his false Religion.

All these Considerations put together, by the Grace of God, who makes use of second causes, put an end to his delays, and brought him to resolve on accomplishing what he had so long design'd, by making a publick profession of the Catholique Faith. Inasmuch, that when the *Sieur Francis D, O*, who of all the Court-Lords, spoke to him with the greatest freedom, went to press him somewhat bluntly on behalf of the Catholiques of his Party, that he wou'd make good his promise to them : He with great calmness gave him those three Reasons which I have already set down, why he had till that time deferr'd his Conversion, and afterwards gave him his positive word, that within three months at the farthest, when he had seen what the Conference of *Surenne* would produce, he wou'd make an abjuration of Heresie, after he had re-

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ceiv'd the instruction of the Bishops and Doctors, which, according to the forms of the Church, ought to precede so great an action; farther ordering him to assure the Archbishop of *Bourges* of those his intentions, before he went to that Conference, being then on his departure.

And on that account it was, that the Archbishop, after having receiv'd the Answer which he well knew would be sent from *Mante*, where the Court then was, spoke as he did at *Surenne*, and believing that he had now brought the business to a conclusion, on the seventeenth of *May*, and at the seventh Session, gave the Deputies of the *League* a full assurance of the Kings Conversion.

His Majesty also on his part, having firmly resolv'd on that holy action, fail'd not to write a Letter on the sixteenth of the same Month, to many Prelates and Doctors, both of his own side and of the *League*; in which he invited them to be with him on the fifteenth of *July*, to the end he might receive those good instructions which he expected from them: Assuring

furing them in these very words, *That they shou'd find him most inclinable to be inform'd of all that belongs to a Most Christian King to know ; having nothing so lively engraven in his heart, as the Zeal for Gods Service, and the maintenance of his true Church.* Ann. 1593.

In the mean time, the Ministers, and the old rigid *Huguenots*, those false Zealots of their Sect, fearing this blow wou'd be fatal to their pretended Religion, made frequent Assemblies in private, to invent some means of diverting him from this pious resolution. And there were some of them who had the impudence to tell him publickly of it in their Sermons, and to threaten him with a judgment from Heaven, if he forsook the Gospel, (for it has pleas'd them to honour their Errors with that venerable Name.) This occasion'd him to assemble all the principal Lords of that new Religion, together with their Preachers, who were at that time in great numbers at the Court, and who to the great grief of the *Catholiques*, perpetually besieg'd him: and to tell them plainly (that he might free himself

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self once for all, from that troublesome persecution) *That after he had in the presence of Almighty God, made all necessary reflections on an affair of that importance, he had, in conclusion, resolv'd to return into the Catholique Church, from which he ought never to have been separated. And when La Faye the Minister had adjur'd him in the name of all his Brethren, Not to suffer (they are his very words) that so great a scandal shou'd come to them; If, said he, I shou'd follow your advice, in a little time there wou'd be neither King nor Kingdom left in France: I desire to give peace to all my Subjects, and quiet to my own Soul, and you shall have also from me, all the provisions which you can reasonably desire.*

Thus, being without comparifon the strongest, and in much better condition than he had ever been formerly; immediately after he had taken the Town of *Dreux*, which the *League*, though it was of great consequence to them, yet durst never attempt to relieve; he assign'd the place where he wou'd receive the Instruction, which ought to precede the act of Abjuration,

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tion, to be at *St. Denis*, on the twenty second of *July*.

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The Cardinal of *Piacenza* caus'd a Declaration to be publish'd, in which, taking upon him, as Legat from the Holy See, to pronounce, that whatsoever shou'd be done in relation to that Conversion, was to be accounted void and null, he exhorted all Catholiques both of the one and the other Party, not to suffer themselves to be deluded in an Affair of that consequence: Prohibiting all men, and especially the Ecclesiasticks, on pain of Excommunication and privation of their Benefices, from going to *St. Denis*, and assisting at that Action.

But notwithstanding all these prohibitions, (which were thought to be made by the sollicitation of the *Spaniards*.) the Princes, the Officers of the Crown, the principal Members of the Parliaments, the Lords of the Court, the Bishops, and many Doctors, not only of the Royal Party, but also of the *League*, went thither, and amongst others, three famous Curats of *Paris*, *Rene Benoist* of *St. Eustache*, *Charignac* of *St. Sulpice*, and  
*Morennes*

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*Morennes* of *St. Merry*, who far from being tainted with the seditious principles of their fellows (the Curats of *St. Severin*, *St. Cosme*, *St. Jaques*, *St. Gervais*, *St. Nicholas in the Fields*, and *St. André*, who had ran riot in their scandalous Satyrs, as I may call them, more properly than Sermons, against the Person of the King) had the honour of bearing their parts in the Conversion of so Great a Prince.

Being therefore arriv'd at *St. Denis* from *Mante* on the twenty second of *July*, the next morning he entred into Conference, and held close at it from six in the Morning to one in the Afternoon, with the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and seven or eight Bishops, amongst whom was *Monsieur du Peron*, nominated to the Bishoprick of *Evreux*. Many Doctors of great reputation were present in that Assembly, with the three Curats of *Paris*, and Father *Oliver Beranger*, a Learned *Jacobin*, Chaplain in Ordinary to the late King. The Instruction was made particularly touching three points, concerning which, the King propos'd some scruples.

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The first was on the Invocation of Saints, to know if it were absolutely necessary for us to pray to them : On which point they easily satisfied him, by giving him to understand the Doctrine of the Church concerning it, *viz.* That as it is profitable for us to recommend our selves to the prayers of our living Brethren, without derogating thereby from the Office of Jesus Christ our Mediator ; in like manner it is very advantageous for us, to have recourse to Saints , and pray them to intercede for us, to the end we may obtain benefits and favour from God by Jesus Christ ; God imparting to them the knowledge of our necessities and of our prayers, by some way best pleasing to himself, as he makes known to the Angels according to the Scripture, what is done here below, and foretels to the Prophets future things, though they are more particularly reserv'd to his own knowledge.

The second was concerning Auricular Confession : And it was clearly prov'd to him, That Jesus Christ having given commission to his Ministers  
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in general terms of binding and of loosing sins, that power cou'd not be restrain'd only to publick sins, and by consequence it was necessary, that Penitents shou'd give the Priests full knowledge of all the sins they had committed, to the end they may make a just distinction betwixt those offences which they ought to remit, and those they ought not.

The third Particular, in which he desir'd to be thoroughly instructed, was concerning the Authority of the Pope : To which he submitted without difficulty, after it was made out to him, that according to the Gospels, the Councils, and the Holy Fathers, it extended no farther than to things that were purely spiritual, and nothing relating to temporals : not at all interfering with the Rights and Prerogatives of Kings, or the Liberties of Kingdoms. When they wou'd have proceeded from this, to the Point of the real Presence of Christ's Body in the Holy Sacrament, which of all other Articles is the most contested betwixt *Catholicks* and *Huguenots*, and in which, they never come to

to an agreement, he stopp'd the Bishops by telling them, that he was intirely perswaded of that Truth, that he had no manner of scruple concerning it, and that he always had believ'd it.

'Tis also said, that having appointed a Conference betwixt the Doctors and the Ministers, when one of the *Huguenot* Preachers had yielded, that Salvation might be had in the Church of *Rome* (for at that time they granted it) he said with great reason, *There is then no longer deliberation to be us'd: I must of necessity be a Catholique, and take the surest side, as every prudent man wou'd do in a business of so great importance as that of Salvation: Since, according to the joynt opinion of both Parties, I may be sav'd being a Catholique, and if I still continue a Huguenot, I shall be damn'd according to the opinion of the Catholiques.* But whether this be true indeed, or only a report, 'tis certain, that being perfectly instructed and well assur'd of all points of belief, which are held by the *Roman* Church, they drew up a form of the Profession of Faith, which was sign'd by him:  
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After which there remain'd no more, but only to make his profession solemnly, according to the custom of the Church, and to receive Absolution from his Heresie, and from the sentence of Excommunication, which had been given against him.

But it was first to be examin'd anew, in a regular Conference (which wou'd make the Decision more authentick) whether the Bishops had power to absolve him in *France*, of the Excommunication which he had incurr'd, in a Case reserv'd by the Popes to the Holy See. For not only the Legat, and those Doctors who were devoted to the *League*, and above all others the Archbishop of *Lyons*, as he had made appear at the Conference of *Surenne*, but also the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who had much ado to part with his imaginary Headship of a third Party, maintain'd openly and boldly, that the Pope alone had power to absolve him, and that all other Absolution wou'd be null, because the Pope had solely and positively made a reservation of that Power to the Holy See. Notwithstanding which, in a great

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great Assembly of Bishops and learned Doctors, which was held for the resolving of this Case, the contrary opinion pass'd, *nemine contradicente*, in spite of the Remonstrances of that Cardinal, who was indeed no very able man. The Curat of St. *Eustache* himself, *René Benoist*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Troyes*, *Monsieur de Morennes*, Curat of St. *Merry*, who dy'd Bishop of *Seaz*, those I say, who had been of the *League* till that very time, and some other knowing Doctors, gave an account to the Publick in their printed Writings, of the Reasons on which they grounded their opinion; and they are reducible to this ensuing Argumentation, which the Reader will not be unwilling to understand, as I have extracted it from their Books, without interposing my own Judgement in the Matter, because I write not as a Divine, who declares and maintains a Doctrine, but as an Historian, who makes a faithful Relation of Actions done, as he finds them in the best Accounts.

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'Tis indubitable, say these Doctors, according to the most knowing Canonists, that he who is excommunicated for a Case reserv'd to the Holy See, if he have any Canonical hindrance, that is to say, express'd and approv'd by the Canons, which permits him not to go and present himself before the Pope, may be absolv'd by some other, without being bound to send to *Rome* for his Absolution; provided nevertheless, that when the hindrance (if it endures not always) shall be remov'd, he shall go and present himself before His Holiness, submitting in all humility to what he shall reasonably ordain: Now 'tis most manifest, (they say) that there are three sorts of Canonical Hindrances, which dispence the King from going, and consequently from sending to *Rome*, to desire Absolution from the Pope.

The first is the manifest danger, wherein he is continually, of losing his Life, in so many Battels and Sieges, where he is forc'd to expose it daily, for the preservation of the Crown which is devolv'd to him, by the invioable Right of Succession, according  
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to the fundamental Law of the Kingdom; and which one half of his Subjects, who are in Rebellion against him, do their utmost to take away. A Danger of this nature, and many of the same, which are included under it, as that of Conspiracies, Enmities, Robbers, a long Voyage by Sea, are esteem'd according to right Reason, and by the Doctors, to be of that number which is comprehended in what we call the Article of Death; which is not to be understood alone of that fatal moment, when we give up our Breath, but also of any another time, when we are visibly expos'd to Death. And it is on these occasions, as in the Article of Death, that not only the Bishops, but also all Priests, can give Absolution from all Sins, and Ecclesiastick Censures, with this proviso, that he shall afterwards present himself before the Pope, if there be not some other Hindrance; as for example, that which follows.

And that is the greatness and dignity of the Persons excommunicated, and particularly of Sovereign Princes, who cannot leave the People whom

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they govern, to go to *Rome*, without manifest prejudice to their Crown. For if a Father of a Family, or suppose an ordinary Servant, may be dispenc'd with from going thither, in case his absence would inconvenience his Family, much more strongly may it be concluded in the Person of a great King, whose presence is always necessary, or at least wise very advantageous to his Kingdom : Therefore it ought to be presum'd, that Persons of that eminent Dignity, are perpetually hindred from leaving their Countrey, and taking such a Journey.

In conclusion, the third Hindrance, which the Doctors call, *Periculum in mora*, (the danger of delay ) is the great hazard which the Nation might run : For by deferring that Absolution so long, till it were given at *Rome*, a thousand ill Accidents might intervene, and the happy opportunity be lost, of preserving in *France*, our Religion, the State, and the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by the conversion of the King. For all these Reasons it was concluded in that Assembly, that they not only might, but ought

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ought also to absolve him; and afterwards send a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, to desire the fatherly Benediction of the Pope, and the Approbation of what had been so justly done in *France*, in relation to his Conversion.

It being resolv'd in this manner, the publick and solemn Act of this Conversion, which was so much the wish of all good men, was perform'd on the Sunday following, being the 25<sup>th</sup>. of *July*, with Magnificence worthy of so great an Action, and of the Majesty of him who made it. The King cloath'd all in white, excepting only his Cloak and Hat, which were black, came forth from his Lodgings, betwixt the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning, preceded by the *Swiss*, the *French*, and the *Scottish* Guards, and the Officers of his House, with beat of Drum, accompanied by the Princes, the Crown Officers, and those of the Sovereign Courts, the Bishops and Prelats, and all those who had assisted at his Instruction, twelve Trumpets going before him, and five or six hundred Gentlemen following him, all magnificently cloath'd; the

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Streets were hung with Tapissery, and the Pavements strow'd with Flowers and Greens; there were present an infinite multitude of People, and principally of *Parisians*, who notwithstanding all the Prohibitions of the Legat and the Duke of *Mayenne*, were come in Crowds to *St. Denis*, and joyn'd heartily with the rest in the loud Cries of *Vive le Roy*, while his Majesty walk'd through the midst of them to the Church Porch of *St. Denis*. There he found the Archbishop of *Bourges*, who was to perform the Ceremony, sitting on a great Chair, in his pontifical Habit. Immediately he ask'd the King, according to the form, *Who he was, and what he would have?* To which Questions the King having answer'd, *I am the King, who desire to be receiv'd into the bosom of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church.* He fell upon his Knees, and presented the Confession of his Faith, sign'd with his Hand, to the Archbishop, saying these words, *I swear and protest, before the Face of Almighty God, that I will live and die in the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church, that I will*

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will protect and defend it with the hazard of my Blood and Life, renouncing all Heresies which are contrary to it. After which he receiv'd from that Prelat an Absolution from the Censures which he had incurr'd ; immediately the whole Church resounded with the often repeated Cryes of *Vive le Roy* ; and he was conducted by the Bishops before the great Altar, where he renew'd his Oath upon the holy Evangelists ; and after having confess'd himself to the Archbishop behind the Altar, while they were singing the *Te Deum*, he heard High Mass ; which was celebrated by the Bishop of *Nantes*, and then the Musick sang *Vive le Roy*, with several repetitions of it. At which the *Parisians*, ( who were present in great numbers at that triumphal Ceremony ) breaking out into tears, drown'd the voices of the Musicians, with their Cryes of *Vive le Roy* : which makes it evident, that the People of *Paris*, excepting only the Rabble of the Faction, were only *Leaguers*, by reason of that invincible Aversion, which they have always had for *Hugonotism*. For so soon as they saw the

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King converted, they no longer call'd him the *Bearnois*, or the King of *Navarre*, but plainly the King; whom already they desir'd to see in *Paris*; as appear'd not long afterwards, by the peaceable reduction of that capital City of the Kingdom.

Truly after this day, which by the Effects it produc'd, may properly be call'd the last day of the *League*, when the Piety of the King was observ'd at Mass, at Vespers, at the Archbishop's Sermon, and after it, in the Visit which he made to the Tombs of the Martyrs at *Montmartre*, all which Actions were well known to proceed from the Sincerity of a Soul, which was too great to be capable of Hypocrisie; the People did but laugh at what the *Spaniards*, the remainders of the Sixteen, their Preachers, and above all others, the fiery Doctor *Boucher*, publish'd in their Libels, and in their Sermons which were but Libels, against this Conversion, which they labour'd in vain to decry by many impudent and forg'd Defamations. 'Twas almost every mans business, as secretly as he cou'd to make Peace with

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with the King ; and deliver up the Towns without noise, especially after they had begun to taste the Sweets of Peace, by means of the Truce, which being earnestly desir'd by the great Cities, was concluded for three moneths, beginning four days after the Conversion.

Tis true, the Duke of *Mayenne*, fearing that it wou'd soon deprive him of the Authority, which he enjoy'd as Lieutenant of the Crown, procur'd in his pretended Estates, that the Oath shou'd be renew'd, of perseverance in the Union, and obedience to the Pope's Decrees. He went yet farther ; for in order to oblige his Holiness, always to support his Party, he caus'd the Estates to confirm the Declaration which he had made for the publishing of the Council of *Trent* : though they had formerly inroll'd the Exceptions which they had made in bar of it, containing 23 Articles, which were held to be inconsistent with the Royal Prerogative of our Kings, and the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church. But in conclusion, neither that Publication, which they had no great mind to  
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make valid, had any effect; neither did the Oath which they had taken, hinder them from treating privately, and considering of the best methods, to receive the King into *Paris*, in spight of the Duke of *Mayenne*.

But that which wholly turn'd the Ballance, and made the justice of his Cause apparent in the eyes of all men, reducing almost all his Subjects to their Duty, was, that according to his promise, he sent the Duke of *Nevers* to *Rome*, to render that filial Obedience which is owing to his Holiness from the most Christian Kings, and to desire that Absolution, which they believ'd at *Rome* the Pope had only power to give him. This met with great Obstructions; and Pope *Clement*, being earnestly solicited by the *Spaniards*, who us'd their utmost Endeavours to hinder him from granting it, refus'd it for a long time together, after a manner, which was somewhat disrespectful, to so great a King. But when his Holiness perceiv'd, that he began to be less courted for his Gift, and that it was believ'd in *France*, considering what Applications had been made,

made, that the King had done all which cou'd reasonably be expected on his part, and consequently no farther Absolution was necessary; he advanc'd of his own accord, as fast as they went back, and encourag'd them to renew that Negotiation, which had been wholly given over by the Duke of *Nevers*, whom he would not receive as the Ambassador of the King of *France*, and who for that Reason he was departed from *Rome* in Discontent.

The King therefore being desirous to omit nothing on that occasion, which cou'd be expected from a most religious Prince, nam'd two new Deputies, and both great Men, *Jacques David du Perron*, and *Arnaud d' Ossat*, whose extraordinary Deserts were not long after rewarded with Cardinalships; and they acted both of them with so much prudence, that after many Disputes and Difficulties rais'd by the *Spaniards*, both concerning the Essentials, and the Formalities of that Affair, the Pope at length resolv'd on giving a second Absolution, and to keep himself precisely within the bounds

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bounds of spiritual authority, without mentioning the *Rehabilitation* to which he pretended: For they wou'd not admit that term, by which it might have seem'd that the Crown of *France*, which depends on God alone, shou'd either directly or indirectly be subjected to the Pope. In this manner, that Absolution which had been desir'd almost two years before that time, was given at *Rome* on the sixteenth of *September*, in the year 1595. by which it is easie to be observ'd, that the *League* had not the mortal blow from thence; but on the contrary, that which made the Pope so pliable, was, that he saw the *League* was going to destruction.

In effect, as when the two great Pillars which sustain'd the Palace of the *Philistims*, were overthrow'n by the strength of *Sampson*, all the Building went to the ground; so when those two specious pretences of the Publick Good and of Religion, which the Heads of the *League* had taken for the Columns of their Fabrick, were thrown down by the Conversion of the King, and that Conversion known to

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to be real, notwithstanding all the jugglings of the *Spaniards*, who would have rendred it suspected; that impious Building, already more than half ruin'd, and now having not the least support, fell down of it self and came to nothing. Infomuch that in the year ensuing, almost all the Heads, and all the Cities of the *League*, made each of them their separate Treaty with the King, who was better pleas'd to win upon their hearts by gentle means, with his admirable clemency and Fatherly goodness, granting them advantageous conditions, which did him the more honour the less they had deserv'd them, than to force them, as he was able, by his victorious Arms to return to their duty in their own despight.

As the Marquess *de Vitry*, was the first who forsook the Kings Party, after the death of *Henry* the Third, entering into that of the *League*, which at that time he believ'd to be the juster Cause; he was also the first, who being disabus'd of that false opinion, return'd to his obedience with the Town of *Meaux*, of which he was Governor.

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Governor. The *Sieur da la Chastre* immediately follow'd his example, and brought back with him *Orleans* and *Bourges*. The *Lionnois*, after they had shaken off the yoke of the Duke of *Nemours*, whom they kept Prisoner in *Pierre Encise*, and that of the Duke of *Mayenne*, his Brother by the Mothers side, (who had underhand wrought them to secure him, that he might joyn his Government of *Bourgogne* to that of *Lionnois*, and set up a kind of independent principality in both) turn'd the *Leaguers* out of the Town, and declar'd unanimously for the King.

*Provence* was the first of all the Provinces, which openly disown'd the Party of the *League*, taking up Arms at the same time against the *Savoyards* and the Duke of *Espernon*, who had possess'd himself of that Government against the Kings Will.

This voluntary reduction was made by the courage and good management of four brave Gentlemen, of the House of *Fourbin*, one of the most Noble and most remarkable Families of *Provence*. Their Names were *Palamede de Fourbin*,

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*bin*, Lord of *Soliers*, and his two Sons, *Jaspar de Soliers*, and *Saint Canat*; and *Nicholas de Fourbin*, Knight of *Malta*, with whom joyn'd *Melchior de Fourbin*, *Sieur de Janſon*, Baron of *Ville-Laure*, and *Mane*.

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These being related by kindred and alliance to *John de Pontevex*, Count of *Carces*, Governor and Grand Seneſchal of *Provence*, whose two Sisters were married to *Janſon* and *Saint Canat*, wrought so well with him, that they brought him over from the *League*; of which he had declar'd himself Head, after the death of *Monsieur de Vins*, his Nephew, who was kill'd with a Musquet Shot as he was besieging *Grasse*. After which, having perswaded the greatest part of the Nobility and Gentry to enter into their confederacy, the Count, without much trouble, reduc'd the City of *Aix*, and the Parliament of that place, which reunited it self at the same time with that party of its Officers, which held their Sessions at *Manosque*, under the authority of the King. In sequel of this, the greatest part of the *Provençals* being reunited,

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and strengthen'd by the Succours which they receiv'd from Monsieur de *Lesdiguieres*, manag'd their undertakings with so much prudence, courage, and good fortune, that at length they constrain'd both the *Savoyards* and the Duke of *Espemon*, to depart out of that Country, and to leave the Government of it free to the Duke of *Guise*. And that Prince, by the deliverance of *Marseilles*, finish'd that great work which the four Lords of *Fourbin* had so generously begun, and so well carried on, immediately after the Kings Conversion, and when he had made his entry into *Paris*, which in a very short time was follow'd by the reduction of all the remaining parts of the Kingdom.

Many Months were already past, since the Parliament and Magistrates of that Town, by the care of the President *Le Maistre*, the Counsellors *du Vair*, *D'Amours*, and *Molé*, (who exercis'd the Office of Procureur General) the *Sieur Huillier*, Provost of the Merchants, the *Sieurs Beaurepaire*, *L'Anglois*, and *Neret* the Sheriffs, the Colonels and Captains of the several Wards,

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Wards, had dispos'd the minds of all the Persons of Quality, the Officers, and good Citizens of *Paris*, openly to renounce the *League*, without regarding either the *Spanish* Garrison, or the Faction of Sixteen, which consisted of not above 3 or 4000 seditious People, who were the very Scum of all the Rabble, whom the Colonels and Captains of the Wards, cou'd easily cut in pieces, in case they shou'd presume to take up Arms. The Treaty was also already concluded for the safety of the *Parisians*, and all necessary Measures taken with the Count of *Belin*, Governour of *Paris*, for the bringing in of the King, particularly, after he had been Crown'd at *Chastres*, on the 17th. of *February*, and nothing hindered the execution of so noble Design, but only the presence of the Duke of *Moyenne*, who beginning to have the Count of *Belin* in distrust, had put the Count of *Brissac* in his place, whom he believ'd to be the most confiding man of all his Followers. But that Count, the King being now converted, and his Affairs in a flourishing condition, consider'd that he had a

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stronger tye of Fidelity to him, than to any other Person without exception; and therefore made his Treaty betimes, on the most advantageous terms he cou'd procure. So that the Duke, who had sworn never to treat with the King, whatsoever Conditions might be offer'd, before he had receiv'd Absolution from the Pope, foreseeing that he cou'd be no longer Master of *Paris*: and fearing to be apprehended in the Town, departed out of it, with the Dutcheß, his Wife, and his Children, whom he brought to *Soissons*, and leaving them there, went into *Picardy*, to order his Affairs in that Province, and to retain the Cities in his obedience.

In the mean time, the King, who had drawn his Army together at *St. Denis*, hasten'd so well the execution of the Treaty, that the day was appointed to be the 22<sup>d</sup>. of *March*: at which time, advancing as far as *Montmartre*, and afterwards within 200 paces of the Town, towards the lower part of the River near the *Tuilleries*, with the choice of his Cavalry, the Infantry was let in by the new Gate,  
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and the Gate of *St. Denis*, very early in the morning : so that the Ramparts were seiz'd, without the least tumult, or any manner of Resistance ; after which, they possess'd themselves of all the principal Places, the two *Chastelets*, the *Palace*, and the Avenues of the Bridges. At the same time, the King's Garrisons of *Melun* and *Corbeil*, marching down by the River side, till they came right against the *Celestines*, were receiv'd by Captain *Grossier* into the Arsenal ; and on the other side, the loyal Citizens, secur'd their own Wards by strong Corps de guard, and scattering among the multitude, many printed Tickets, containing a general Indemnity, rais'd loud Acclamations, and Cryes of *Vive le Roy* through the whole City.

This caus'd so great an amazement in those who were the hottest *Leaguers*, and in the *Spaniards*, that after the King's Party had either cut in pieces, or thrown into the River a Corps de guard of 25 or 30 *Lansquenets*, who made an offer of resistance on the *Kay*, not a man of them durst afterwards appear ; so that all things being

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now in great Tranquility, and the whole City secur'd for the King, he enter'd, at the New Gate, as it were in Triumph, attended by all his Nobility and Gentry, after he had receiv'd from the Count of *Brissac*, the Keys of the Town, and a magnificent imbroider'd Scarf, instead of which he put his own upon the Count, and made him Mareschal of *France* upon the place. Then with 5 or 600 men arm'd Cap a pe, before him, their Pikes being trail'd, in shew that the Town was voluntarily surrender'd, he march'd directly to the Church of *Nostre-dame*, the Trumpets on every side founding, the Bells ringing, and innumerable multitudes of People continually ecchoing each other from all parts of the Town, with incessant Acclamations, and Shouts of *Vive le Roy*. From thence, when the *Te Deum* was sung during the Mass, which he heard with such demonstrations of Piety, as overjoy'd the *Parisians*, he went to the *Louvre*, where, after Dinner, having receiv'd the Submissions of all the Companies, at Three of the Clock he went to see the dismissi-  
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on of the *Spanish* Garrison, at the Gate of *St. Denis*: they were not in number above 3 or 4000 men at most; in the midst of them was the Duke of *Feria*, *Don Diego d'Ybarra*, and the Lord *Juan Baptista Taxis*, who all three of them, with the whole Body of their Souldiers, bowing lowly to him with infinite Respect, were safely convoy'd, till they came to *Guise*.

About 30 of the most violent *Leaguers*, amongst whom, were *Dr. Boucher*, and the *Petit Feuillant*, believing, like *Cain*, that their horrible Impieties were uncapable of Pardon, departed with that foreign Garrison, and retir'd into *Flanders*, where they pass'd the rest of their days, some of them in extream misery, some others well rewarded by the *Spaniards*, to the end that Example might be serviceable to them on some other occasion; and that their Liberality might encourage others to be like them, wholly at their Devotion. It seems they were little acquainted with the King's Temper, who was Goodness and Clemency it self; for he lost the memory of all that was past, as soon as ever he

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set Foot in *Paris*. He even sent to offer his Protection, and all manner of Security, to the Cardinal of *Piacenza*, the Pope's Legat, and to Cardinal *Pellewè*, his greatest Enemies; the first of whom, to whom he had given his safe Conduct, died by the way, on his return to *Rome*; the second, who was then desperately sick, expir'd, not at the very moment of the King's entrance into *Paris*, as the greatest part of our Historians have written, but six days after it, as his Epitaph bears witness, which is to be seen, in the Metropolitan Church of *Rheims*.

In conclusion, all things were restor'd in *Paris*, to their first Estate: The Parliament solemnly re-establish'd, in its natural Seat; all its Ordinances, which had been made, during the Troubles, against the King's Authority, rac'd out of their Rolls, and the general Lieutenantcy of the Crown and Estate, judicially repeal'd. And the Faculty of Divines in Body assembled, (their Freedom being no longer oppress'd, as it had been during the *League*, by the Tyranny of the Sixteen) declar'd null all the scandalous

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lous Decrees which it had made, in prejudice of the inviolable Rights of our Kings, swore Fidelity to King *Henry* the Fourth, and declar'd that all *Frenchmen* were oblig'd in Conscience, to acknowledge him for their lawful Sovereign, ordain'd by God; notwithstanding that through the Intrigues of the *Spaniards*, the Pope had not yet given him Absolution.

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Now, as they say, the *Primum mobile*, draws along with it all the other Heavens by the rapidity of its motion, so the happy reduction of this capital City of the Monarchy, was follow'd by that of the Princes, the Lords, and the Cities of the *League*, who vyed with each other, who shou'd first come in, and return'd in Crowds to the King's Obedience. For in the year ensuing, the Admiral *Villars*, the Duke of *Guise* with his Brothers, his Cousins, and the Sieurs of *Bois Dauphin* and *La Chastre*, made their Treaties for the Towns which they yet held in their Governments. Those of *Picardy* and *Bourgogne*, were almost all reduc'd, either by voluntary Submission, or by the taking of *La-*

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*on, Noyon, and the Castle of Beaume ; and the Duke of Lorraine, prudently withdrawing himself from a Party, which must have overwhelm'd him under its Ruines, had at last obtain'd the Peace, which he sought from the King. Infomuch that there remain'd only Soissons, Chaalons upon the Saone, Seurre, and the Castles of Dijon and Talant, to the Duke of Mayenne, who saw himself forsaken by the Head of his Family, and the Princes of it, and indeed by all those in whom he had repos'd his confidence. Which notwithstanding, he still hop'd, he might set himself up again, by the assistance of a great Army of 18000 men, which Ferdinand de Velasco, Constable of Spain, had brought from the Dutchy of Milan, into the French County : which, in conclusion, only afforded new Matter, to increase the King's Glory, by one of the most hazardous; but also of the most glorious Actions, which he ever did perform.*

The new Marshal *Biron*, having fought successfully in *Dijon*, against the Vicount *de Tavannes*, whom he forc'd to leave the Town, besieg'd the Castle,

Castle, and at the same time, the Castle of *Talant*, into which the Enemies were retir'd. It being fear'd, that the Constable of *Castile* with his great Army, which was upon the point to pass the *Saone*, shou'd come upon him, there was notice of it given to the King, who was already advanc'd with 1500 Horse as far as *Troyes*. Upon this Advertisement, he came up speedily to *Dijon*, about the end of *June*. From whence, after he had given all necessary Orders, for carrying on the Siege of the two Castles, he march'd towards the *Saone* with Mareschal *Biron*, and 7 or 800 Horse, with design to stop the Constable at least for two or three days, at the passage of the River, to the end that his men might have leisure, to finish the Retrenchments, which he had appointed, to hinder any Relief from coming into the Castles. But being arriv'd near the Borough of *Fontain Francoise*, half way betwixt *Dijon* and *Grey*, he had Intelligence from his Scouts, that the whole *Spanish* Army, to which the Duke of *Mayenne* had joyn'd all his remaining Forces, having already pass'd the

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the River at *Grey*, was coming up, and just ready to fall on him.

Doubtless here was sufficient occasion of Fear, even for a great Captain, to find himself in this terrible Dilemma: To stay and expect the Enemy, who was twenty times stronger than himself, was extream rashness; to retire before him in full day, was almost impossible to be done, without manifest danger of being routed, and cut off in his Retreat. Nevertheless he form'd his Resolution upon the Place, with wonderful presence of mind, and showing a bold countenance to the Enemy, as if he had been sustain'd by his whole Army, commanded the Marshal to advance with 300 men, who possessing themselves of a rising Ground, from whence they chas'd about 60 Horse of the Enemy, discover'd the whole Army of the *Spaniards* marching in Battalia, who made a Halt on this side the Village of *St. Seyne* upon the *Vigennes*.

Four hundred Horse of the *French* Troops belonging to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and commanded by the Barons *de Thianges*, *de Thenisse*, and *de Villars*  
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*Houdan*, appear'd at the Head of their Army, sustain'd by 800 more detach'd from a great Body of the Vanguard, where the Duke was in Person, purposely, that he might bring it to the issue of a Battel, which the Constable shou'd not be able to avoid. As these were marching right on to *Biron*, he having the Marquess of *Mirebeau* on one side, and the Baron of *Lux*, on the other, each of them commanding an 100 Horse, spread them as wide as he cou'd possible, to hinder himself from being incompass'd, and receiv'd the Enemies with his usual Valour: but they being *French*, old Souldiers, and much out-numbring him, immediately charg'd with so much fury, upon the Squadrons of *Mirebeau* and *Lux*, that they broke into them, and put them in Disorder. The Marshal was not wanting on his side, to give admirable proofs of his Courage and his Conduct, in rallying and sustaining his men, who in spite of their vigorous Resistance began to bend. He made one particular Charge with extream bravery, to disengage the Baron *de Lux*, who was the worst handled,

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led; himself, and the boldest of his Souldiers, being unhors'd; but seeing fresh Squadrons coming on, whereof some were marching up directly to him, others turning on the right hand and on the left, to inclose him, he was at last constrain'd to give ground with the rest, and endeavour to make his Retreat, in which he was so extremely press'd, that it wanted but little of plain flight. And the detachment which was sent by the King, to receive those who fled, and to sustain *Biron*, (who wounded as he was in the Head, and blood all over, yet disdainng to turn his back, fought retreating, accompanied by very few) were as ill handled as the first, and driven back to the place where the King was himself in Person.

It was on this occasion that Great Prince perform'd a most heroick and most memorable action: For though he saw himself in the greatest danger imaginable, having in front of him near 1200 Horse in six Squadrons, sustain'd by the gross of the Army, which was coming to attaque him; he who had not at that time above  
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an hundred Horse about him in good order, far from retiring, which one wou'd have thought he shou'd have endeavour'd, as being able to have done it without danger, while the Enemies were employed, either in fighting those who yet made resistance, or in pursuing those who fled; he march'd straight forward, bearing his Sword aloft, and calling by their names the most considerable Persons who attended him, as the Duke of *Elbeuf*, the Marquess of *Pisany*, *de Treinel*, *de Roquelaure*, *de Chasteau Vieux*, *De Liencour*, *de Montigny*, *d'Inteville* and *de Mirepoix*, and inviting them to act like himself, he made so furious a charge on those who believ'd themselves to be already in possession of the Victory, that he stop'd them short, and broke into them, follow'd by all his brave Attendants, who after his example fought like Lyons, and push'd the Enemy with so much vigor, that those six Squadrons fell back in confusion upon each other. In the heat of this Combat, he kill'd with his own hand the valiant Colonel *San-son*, who was using his uttermost endeavours



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deavours though in vain, to restore the Fight : and being seconded by *Biron*, who had rallyed about an hundred and twenty Horſe, and by the Duke of *Trimouille*, who was come up to the Charge in the miſt of the action with his Company of *Gendarmes*, he purſu'd them at full ſpur as far as the great Body of Cavalry, which the Duke of *Mayenne* commanded in the Vanguard. And doubtleſs he had not fail'd to attaque him, as he was very deſirous to have done, ſeeing his valour ſeconded with ſuch good fortune, if that groſs had not been flank'd with two little Copſes, lin'd with Muſqueteers, and ſuſtain'd by the whole *Spaniſh* Army, which had certainly overwhelm'd him, in caſe they had taken that critical opportunity.

In effect, the Duke of *Mayenne* having obſerv'd, during the Combat, the extreme danger in which the King had involv'd himſelf, which according to his heavy maxim, might paſs for inconfideration and raſhneſs, ſent three or four times with all imaginable earneſtneſs to the Conſtable, to deſire

desire him not to let slip that favourable minute, but to march as to a certain victory ; giving him to understand, that the King having neither Foot nor Cannon, cou'd not possibly escape either from being kill'd, or at least from being taken. But whether the *Castillian* fear'd the fortune of the King, and much more apprehended that his whole Army was not far behind ; or were it the Hatred which the *Spaniards* bore the Duke , who for his part hated them not less ; or perhaps the Vanity and Pride of the Constable, who cou'd not endure to be taught his Duty : 'tis certain that he absolutely refus'd to move, but only on his Retreat the same day, to his Quarters at St. *Seyne*, and the next morning to *Grey*. The King, who in the mean time had rallied all his Troops, having still pursued him, till he had repass'd the *Saone*.

Thus it may be said, that in this famous Skirmish at *Fontain Francoise*, the happy success of which is wholly to be attributed to the incomparable Valour of the King, he perform'd an Action not unlike that of the great  
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*Macchabee*, who with 800 men, durst bear up against a numerous Army; with this difference notwithstanding, that the *Jewish Hero* was lost in the too eager prosecution of his Victory, but ours, on the contrary, return'd from the pursuit of his flying Enemies, cover'd with Glory, after he had driven a powerful Army out of his Kingdom, with an handful of men, not exceeding the number of 6 or 700.

This was the last Enterprize of the *League*, which was then gasping in the pangs of death, and expir'd immediately after it. For the Duke of *Mayenne*, in despair to see himself abandon'd by the Constable, with no hope of recovery in his Affairs, was upon the point of taking a Journey into *Spain*, and throwing himself into the Arms of King *Philip*, with intention to inform him of the Malice and Cowardise of those, whom he intrusted with the Command of his Armies, when the King, willing by an admirable effect of his Goodness, to withdraw his vanquish'd Enemy from the steep of that Precipice, where he was seeking his destruction, let him under-

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derstand that he was ready to receive him into Grace, and grant him, in that his low estate, very advantageous Conditions; that while the Treaty betwixt them was depending, he might stay at *Châlon* on the *Saone*, the only good Town remaining to him in *Bourgogne*, and take his word for his security. And the Duke to answer this Generosity, as much as lay in him, accepting this Offer, gave immediate Order, that the Castles of *Dijon* and *Talant* shou'd be surrendred. But what was most admirable in this procedure of the King, was, that to save the Honour of that Prince, who had engag'd himself by Oath, not to acknowledge him, till he had receiv'd Absolution from the Pope, he deferr'd the conclusion of his Treaty, till he had obtain'd it from his Holiness; after which, in the beginning of the year ensuing, he made an Edict in his Favour.

It was not, indeed, so advantageous as it might have been, if he cou'd have resolv'd to have accepted those Propositions sooner, which were offer'd him more than once; at a time,

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when he might have treated not only for himself, but for all that powerful Party which he headed. Yet it was infinitely beyond what he cou'd reasonably have expected at that time : for, in consideration, that he had always oppos'd the pernicious Designs of the Sixteen, and of the *Spaniards*, and that making War like a man of Honour, he had constantly spoken of the King with great Respect, as one who infinitely esteem'd his Person, his Merit, and his Quality ; the King who valued him exceedingly, granted, in his favour, (even against the opinion of the greatest part of his Counsel) that Edict, in which, making very honourable mention of him, and commending the Zeal, which he always had for the preservation of the Catholick Religion, and the Monarchy in its entire estate, he granted him amongst other things, (besides an Amnesty of the past, the re-establishment of himself and his Friends, in all their Possessions, the Towns of *Soissons*, *Sourre*, and *Chalon on the Saone*, for his security) a Declaration, importing that he had no Accusation either against himself,

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or the Princes and Princesses of his Family, touching the Parricide committed on the Person of the late King ; and that he bound himself and his Successors, to the payment of all Debts which he had contracted, as well without the Kingdom as within it, to make War against him.

After this, the Duke, going to pay his Respects to him at *Monceaux*, was receiv'd with great Honour, and testimony of Affection : and it happening, that the King in walking with him, at his ordinary rate, which was very swift, that poor Prince, who was fat and unwieldy, grew out of breath, freely told him, *That he was quite spent, and could go no farther :* The King embracing him, said only this : *For my own part, Cousin, I swear to you, this is all the Revenge I will ever take on you, for all the Mischief you have done me, when you were Head of the League.* Thus, the Duke being charm'd with so much Generosity and Goodness, which won upon his Nature, devoted himself wholly to his service, and serv'd him afterwards to his great advantage, especially against

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the Spaniards, in the retaking of *La Fere* and *Amiens*.

Now, after this Agreement, there remain'd no more towards the total extinguishment of that gréat Fire, which had spread it self through all the Kingdom, than the reduction of the Dukes of *Mercaur* and of *Joyeuse*, who yet held for the *League*, the one in *Bretagne*, and the other in *Langue-dor*. For, as to the Town of *Marseilles*, (which the Duke of *Guise*, to whom the King had given that Government of *Provence*, had retaken from the Rebels, it being then under the dominion of two petty Tyrants, who acknowledg'd neither the King, nor the Duke of *Mayenne*, and who wou'd have given it up to the *Spaniards*) the History of its Deliverance, belongs not to that of the *League*: for the Duke of *Joyeuse*, three years were already past, when after the death of his Brother, who was drown'd in the *Tarn*, when he had been forc'd in his Retrenchments at the Siege of *Ville-mur*, he was return'd from Father *Auge* the Capuchin, to be Duke of *Joyeuse*, and General of the *League* in *Langue-dor*.

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*doc.* This change of his was made, at the earnest Solicitations, of the Faculty of Divines in *Tholouse*; the Doctors, (who were consulted on this Case of Conscience, and especially his Brother the Cardinal, who after the death of the late King, was enter'd into the Parry of the *League*) having declar'd to him, that he was oblig'd, under pain of mortal Sin, to accept of that Employment, for the good of Religion. Yet he wou'd not take it, without a Dispensation from the Pope, who transferr'd him from the Order of *St. Francis*, to that of *St. John of Jerusalem*. He had maintain'd, till that time, the Party of the *Union* in that Province, as well as he was able; but when he saw, that the greatest part of the Towns, made their voluntary submission, after the Conversion of the King; and that those few Officers of Parliament, who were remaining at *Tholouse*, were resolv'd, in case he wou'd not accommodate himself to them, that they wou'd joyn with the Members of their Company, who, during the Troubles, were retir'd to *Castle Sarazin*, and *Besiers*. He

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made his Treaty, and in January obtain'd from the King, in the same manner as the Duke of *Mayenne* had done, an Edict in favour of him, by which he was made Marshal of *France*, and Lieutenant of the King in *Lauguedoc*, and *Tholonse*, and the other Towns of that Province, which yet held for the *League*.

He liv'd for three years afterwards, in the midst of the Poms. Pleasures, and Vanities of the World. But it caus'd a wonderful Surprise, when after he had solemniz'd with great Magnificence, the Marriage of his only Daughter, *Henriette Charlotte*, only Heir of that rich and illustrious House of *Joyeuse*, with *Henry* Duke of *Montpensier*, it was told, on the second Tuesday of *Lent*, by the Capuchin who preach'd at *St. Germain del Auxerrois*, that having for the second time, renounc'd the World, he was return'd the last night into the Cloister, from whence he had departed eight or nine years before, for the service of Religion, as he believ'd: but at the last, his Mind having been enlighten'd by God's holy Spirit, and being

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ing strongly wrought upon by the Impulses of his Grace, he had resolv'd to do Justice on himself; considering, in the presence of God, that the Motive on which the Pope had given him the Dispensation, no longer subsisting, it was his duty, dealing sincerely with God, who is not to be deceiv'd, no longer to make use of it, when the Causes which supported it, were no more in being. For which Reasons, he piously resolv'd, to resume his ancient Habit of Penitence, in which, after he had edified all *Paris*, by his rare Vertues, and his fervent Sermons, he dy'd in our days, a most religious Death.

All that now remain'd, was to reduce the Duke of *Merceur*; which was indeed, to give the fatal Blow to the *League*, and to cut off the last Head of that monstrous *Hydra*. That Prince, who was Son to the Count of *Vaudemont*, and Brother of Queen *Louise*, Wife to the late King, being carried away with the furious Torrent of the *League*, after the death of the *Guises*, following the example of the other Princes of his Family, had caus'd

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almost a general Revolt in his Government of *Bretagne*, where he made War for almost ten years, with Fortune not unlike that of the Duke of *Mayenne*, but with much greater Obstinacy. For notwithstanding that in the declination of the *League*, he had lost the greatest part of his Towns, which were either taken from him, or of their own accord forsook his Party, yet he still fed his Imagination with flattering Hopes, that this fair Dutchy, to which he had some Pretensions in right of his Wife, might at last remain in his possession, by some favourable revolution of Fortune, in case the War continued. But when he saw the King approaching *Bretagne*, with such Forces, as there was no appearance of resisting, he made his Applications to the Dutches of *Beaufort*, to whom he offer'd the Princess his only Daughter, for the young Duke of *Vandome* her Son. And it was in consideration of that Marriage, that she obtain'd from the King, an Edict yet more honourable, and at least as advantageous as that which she had obtain'd for the Duke of *Mayenne*, whom she

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she desir'd to have in her Interests, designing to make her self powerful Friends, by whose assistance she might compass her high Pretensions, which all vanish'd by her sudden Death, in the year ensuing.

Thus ended the *League*, by the reduction of the Duke of *Mercur*, who had this advantage above all the Princes of that Party, that his Accommodation was follow'd by an Employment, wherein he obtain'd all the Glory, that a Christian Hero could desire, and which has recommended his Name to late Posterity. For the Emperor *Rodolphus*, dissatisfy'd with his *German* Generals, who had serv'd him ill against the *Turks*, and being inform'd of the rare Merit of this Prince, having entertain'd him with leave from the King, and given him the Command of his Forces in *Hungary*, he extended his Reputation through all Christendom, by his wonderful Exploits in War: particularly in the famous Retreat of *Canisla*, with 1500 men, before an Army of 60000 *Turks*; at the taking of *Alba Regalis*, and at the Battel wherein he defeated the *Infidels*,

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*fidels*, who came to the relief of their men besieg'd in that City. And being upon his return to *France*, after so many heroick Actions, it pleas'd God to reward him, with another Crown of Glory, infinitely surpassing that on Earth, and to receive him into Heaven, by means of a contagious Disease, which took him from the World at *Nuremberg*.

The King was not yet satisfy'd, to have wholly extinguish'd that Firebrand of Civil War, which the *League* had lighted up in all the Provinces of *France*, he farther desir'd, in order to the security and quiet of his People, after so great Troubles, to make an end of foreign War, which he accomplish'd not long after the Treaty of the Duke of *Mercaur*, by the Peace of *Vervins*. Since that War which was openly made against the *Spaniard*, during the space of four years, had nothing of relation to the *League*, nor the Peace which concluded it, I shall forbear any mention of it in this History, that I may not exceed the Limits of my Subject. I shall only say, that after the *Spaniard* had been oblig'd by  
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vertue of the Articles of Peace, to restore all the Places, which he had taken from us, or that had been basely given up to him, during our Troubles, we have seen, since that time, under the glorious Reigns of the *Bourbons*, that imperial House still increasing with the *French* Monarchy, by Peace and War, in Greatness, in Power, and in Wealth, even till this present time, when *Louis* the Great, by his victorious Arms, and by his Laws, has rais'd it to the highest pitch of Glory, on the Ruines of those who had attempted its destruction by the *League*. A wonderful effect of the divine Providence and Justice; and a plain demonstration to all Subjects, that they are indispensably oblig'd, to give to *Cesar* what belongs to *Cesar*; and that with good Reason, founded on the expresse Commands of Jesus Christ, the fourth Council of *Toledo*, inspir'd by God's holy Spirit, has made a Decree, against such kind of *Leaguers*, containing, *That whoever shall have violated by any League, the Oath of Allegiance, by which he is bound to maintain the state of his Countrey and of his*  
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*King, or shall have made any Attempt against his sacred Person, or endeavour'd to depose him, and tyrannically usurp'd the Sovereign Power, let him be Anathema before God the Father and his holy Angels ;—before Jesus Christ and his Apostles ;—before the holy Ghost and the Martyrs ;—let him be cut off from the Catholick Church, which he has profan'd by his execrable Perjury ; and let him be excluded from the Company of the Faithful, together with all those who have been partakers of his Impiety ; for 'tis most just, that they who are Accomplices, and guilty of the same Crime, shou'd also be involv'd in the same Punishment.*

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**T**Hat Government generally consider'd, is of divine Authority, will admit of no dispute: For whoever will seriously consider, that no man has naturally a right over his own Life, so as to murder himself; will find by consequence, that he has no right to take away anothers Life; and that no pact betwixt man and man, or of Corporations and Individuals, or of Sovereigns and Subjects, can intitle them to this right. So that no Offender can lawfully, and without sin, be punish'd, unless that power be deriv'd from God. 'Tis He who has commission'd Magistrates, and authoriz'd them to prevent future Crimes by punishing Offenders, and to redress the injur'd by distributive Justice: Subjects therefore are accountable to Superiors,



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Superiors, and the Superior to Him alone. For the Sovereign being once invested with lawful Authority, the Subject has irrevocably given up his power, and the dependance of a Monarch is alone on God. A King, at his Coronation, swears to govern his Subjects by the Laws of the Land, and to maintain the several Orders of Men under him, in their lawful privileges; and those Orders swear Allegiance and Fidelity to him, but with this distinction, that the failure of the People is punishable by the King, that of the King is only punishable by the King of Kings. The People then are not Judges of good or ill administration in their King; for 'tis inconsistent with the Nature of Sovereignty, that they shou'd be so: And if at some times they suffer, through the irregularities of a bad Prince, they enjoy more often the benefits and advantages of a good one, as God in his Providence shall dispose, either for their blessing or their punishment. The advantages, and disadvantages of such subjection are suppos'd to have been first consider'd,  
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and upon this ballance they have given up their power without a capacity of resumption : So that it is in vain for a Common-wealth Party to plead, that men , for example, now in being, cannot bind their Posterity or give up their power : For if Subjects can swear only for themselves, when the Father dyes the subjection ends, and the Son who has not sworn can be no Traytor or Offender, either to the King or to the Laws. And at this rate a long-liv'd Prince may outlive his Sovereignty, and be no longer lawfully a King : But in the mean time, 'tis evident that the Son enjoys the benefit of the Laws and Government, which is an implicit acknowledgment of subjection. 'Tis endless to run through all the extravagancies of these men, and 'tis enough for us that we are settled under a Lawful Government of a Most Gracious Prince ; that our Monarchy is Hereditary ; that it is naturally poiz'd by our municipal Laws, with equal benefit of Prince and People ; that he Governs as he has promis'd by explicit Laws ; and what the Laws are silent

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lent in, I think I may conclude to be part of his Prerogative ; for what the King has not granted away, is inherent in him. The point of Succession has sufficiently been discuss'd, both as to the Right of it, and to the interest of the People : One main Argument of the other side is, how often it has been remov'd from the Right Line ? As in the case of King *Stephen*, and of *Henry* the Fourth, and his Descendants of the House of *Lancaster*. But 'tis easie to answer them, that matter of Fact, and matter of Right, are different Considerations ; Both those Kings were but Usurpers in effect, and the Providence of God restor'd the Posterities of those who were dispossest'd. By the same Argument they might as well justify the Rebellion and Murder of the Late King : For there was not only a Prince inhumanly put to death, but a Government overturn'd ; and first an Arbitrary Common-wealth, then two Usurpers set up against the Lawful Sovereign ; but to our happiness the same Providence has miraculously restor'd the Right Heir, and to their confusion,

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confusion, as miraculously preserv'd him. In this present History, to go no further, we see *Henry* the Third, by a Decree of the *Sorbonne*, divested; what in them lay, of his Imperial Rights, a Parliament of *Paris*, such another as our first long Parliament, confirming their Decree, a Pope authorising all this by his Excommunication, and an Holy League and Covenant, prosecuting this Deposition by Arms: Yet an untimely death only hindred him from reseating himself in Glory on the Throne, after he was in manifest possession of the Victory. We see also the same *Sorbonists*, the same Pope, Parliament, and League, with greater force opposing the undoubted Right of King *Henry* the Fourth; and we see him, in the end, surmounting all these difficulties, and triumphing over all these dangers. God Almighty taking care of his own Anointed, and the True Succession: Neither the *Papist* nor *Presbyterian Association* prevailing at the last in their attempts, but both baffl'd and ruin'd, and the whole Rebellion ending either in the submission, or destruction of the Conspirators.

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'Tis true, as my Author has observ'd in the beginning of his History, that before the Catholick *League*, or Holy Union, which is the Subject of this Book, there was a League or Combination of *Huguenots*, against the Government of *France*, which produc'd the Conspiracy of *Amboise*; and the *Calvinist* Preachers (as *Mizeray*, a most impartial Historian, informs us) gave their opinion, that they might take up Arms in their own defence, and make way for a free access to the King, to present their Remonstrances: But it was order'd at the same time, that they shou'd seize on the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* his Brother, who were then Chief Ministers, that they might be brought to Tryal by process before the States; but he adds immediately, who cou'd answer for them, that the Prisoners shou'd not have been kill'd out of hand, and that they wou'd not have made themselves Masters of the Queen Mother's Person, and of the young King's, which was laid afterwards to their charge? The conceal'd Heads of this  
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Conspiracy, were *Lewis* Prince of *Conde*, and the famous Admiral *de Coligny*; who being discontented at Court, because their Enemies the *Guises* had the management of affairs, under the Queen Regent, to their exclusion, and being before turn'd *Calvinists*; made use of that Rebellious Sect, and the pretence of Religion, to cover their Ambition and Revenge. The same *Mezeray* tells us in one of the next Pages, That the name of *Huguenots* or *Fidnos* (from whence it was corrupted) signifies *League* or *Association*, in the *Swisse* Language; and was brought, together with the Sect, from *Geneva* into *France*. But from whencesoever they had their name, 'tis most certain that pestilent race of people cannot by their principles, be good Subjects: For whatever inforc'd Obedience they pay to Authority, they believe their Class above the King; and how they wou'd order him if they had him in their power, our Most Gracious Sovereign has sufficiently experienc'd when he was in *Scotland*. As for their boast that they brought him in, 'tis much as

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true, as that of the *Calvinists*, who pretend, as my Author tells you in his Preface, That they Seated his Grandfather *Henry* the Fourth upon the Throne. For both *French* and *English Presbyterians* were fundamentally and practically Rebels; and the *French* have this advantage over ours, that they came in to the aid of *Henry* the Third, at his greatest need, or rather were brought over by the King of *Navarre* their declar'd Head, on a prospect of great advantage to their Religion; whereas ours, never inclin'd to the Kings Restauration, till themselves had been trodden underfoot by the *Independent* Party, and till the voice of three Nations call'd aloud for him, that is to say, when they had no possibility of keeping him any longer out of *England*. But the beginning of Leagues, Unions, and Associations, by those who call'd themselves Gods People, for Reformation of Religious Worship, and for the redress of pretended Grievances in the State, is of a higher rise, and is justly to be dated from *Luther's* time; and the private Spirit,  
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or the gift of interpreting Scriptures by private Persons, without Learning, was certainly the Original Cause of such Cabals in the Reform'd Churches : So dangerous an instrument of Rebellion is the Holy Scripture, in the hands of ignorant and bigoted men.

The *Anabaptists* of Germany led up the Dance, who had always in their mouths, Faith, Charity, the Fear of God, and mortifications of the Flesh; Prayers, Fastings, Meditations, contempt of Riches and Honours were their first specious practices : From thence they grew up by little and little to a separation from other men, who according to their Pharisaical account, were less holy than themselves; and Decency, Civility, neatness of Attire, good Furniture and Order in their Houses, were the brands of carnal-minded men. Then they proceeded to nick-name the days of the Weeks, and *Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, &c.* as Heathen names, must be rejected for the *First, Second,* and *Third* Days, distinguishing only by their numbers. Thus they began

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to play, as it were, at cross purposes with mankind ; and to do every thing by contraries, that they might be esteem'd more godly and more illuminated. It had been a wonder, considering their fanciful perfections, if they had stopp'd here. They were now knowing and pure enough to extend their private Reformation to the Church and State ; for Gods people love always to be dealing as well in Temporals as Spirituals ; or rather, they love to be fingring Spirituals, in order to their grasping Temporals. Therefore they had the impudence to pretend to Inspiration in the Exposition of Scriptures ; a trick which since that time has been familiarly us'd by every Sect, in its turn, to advance their interests. Not content with this, they assum'd to themselves a more particular intimacy with Gods Holy Spirit ; as if it guided them, even beyond the power of the Scriptures, to know more of him than was therein taught : For now the Bible began to be a dead Letter, of it self ; and no virtue was attributed to the reading of it, but all to the inward

ward man, the call of the Holy Ghost, and the ingrafting of the Word, opening their Understanding to hidden Mysteries by Faith: And here the Mountebank way of canting words came first in use: as if there were something more in Religion than cou'd be express'd in intelligible terms, or Nonsense were the way to Heaven. This of necessity must breed divisions amongst them; for every mans Inspiration being particular to himself, must clash with anothers, who set up for the same qualification; the Holy Ghost being infallible in all alike, though he spoke contradictions in several mouths: But they had a way of licking one another whole; mistakes were to be forgiven to weak Brethren; the failing was excus'd for the right intention; he who was more illuminated, wou'd allow some light to be in the less, and degrees were made in contradictory Propositions. But Godfathers and Godmothers, by common consent, were already set aside, together with the observation of Festivals, which they said were of *Antichristian* Institution.

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tution. They began at last to Preach openly, that they had no other King but Christ, and by consequence, Earthly Magistrates were out of doors: All the gracious Promises in Scripture they apply'd to themselves, as Gods chosen, and all the Judgments were the portion of their Enemies. These impieties were at first unregarded, and afterwards tolerated by their Sovereigns: And *Luther* himself made request to the Duke of *Saxony*, to deal favourably with them, as honest-meaning men who were misled. But in the end, when by these specious pretences they had gather'd strength, they who had before concluded, that Christ was the only King on Earth, and at the same time assum'd to themselves, that Christ was theirs; inferr'd by good consequence, that they were to maintain their King; and not only so, but to propagate that belief in others; for what God wills, man must obey: And for that reason they entred into a League of Association amongst themselves, to deliver their *Israel* out of *Egypt*; to seize *Canaan*, and to turn the Idolaters

laters out of possession. Thus you see by what degrees of Saintship they grew up into Rebellion, under their Successive Heads, *Muncer*, *Phifer*, *John of Leyden*, and *Knipperdolling*, where, what Violences, Impieties, and Sacriledges they committed, those who are not satisfied, may read in *Sleydan*. The general Tradition is, that after they had been besieged in *Munster*, and were forced by assault, their Ringleaders being punished, and they dispersed; two Ships-lading of these precious Saints was disembogued in *Scotland*, where they set up again, and broach'd anew their pernicious Principles. If this be true, we may easily perceive on what a Noble stock Presbytery was grafted. From *Scotland* they had a blessed passage into *England*; or at least arriving here from other parts, they soon came to a considerable increase. *Calvin*, to do him right, writ to King *Edward* the Sixth, a sharp Letter against these People; but our *Presbyterians* after him, have been content to make use of them in the late Civil Wars, where they and all the rest of the

Sectaries

Sectaries were joynd in the *Good Old Cause* of Rebellion against His Late Majesty ; though they could not agree about dividing the Spoils, when they had obtain'd the Victory : And 'tis impossible they ever shou'd ; for all claiming to the Spirit , no Party will suffer another to be uppermost, nor indeed will they tolerate each other ; because the Scriptures interpreted by each to their own purpose, is always the best weapon in the strongest hand : Observe them all along, and Providence is still the prevailing Argument : They who happen to be in power, will ever urge it against those who are undermost ; as they who are depress'd, will never fail to call it Persecution. They are never united but in Adversity, for cold gathers together Bodies of contrary Natures , and warmth divides them.

How *Presbytery* was transplanted into *England*, I have formerly related out of good Authors. The Persecution arising in Queen *Mary's* Reign, forc'd many Protestants out of their Native Country into Foreign parts, where *Calvinism* having already taken  
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root (as at *Francfort*, *Strasburg*, and *Geneva*) those Exiles grew tainted with that new Discipline; and returning in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, spread the contagion of it both amongst the Clergy and Laity of this Nation.

Any man who will look into the Tenets of the first Sectaries, will find these to be more or less embued with them: Here they were supported underhand by Great Men for private interests: What trouble they gave that Queen, and how she curb'd them, is notoriously known to all who are conversant in the Histories of those times. How King *James* was plagu'd with them is known as well, to any man who has read the Reverend and Sincere *Spotswood*: And how they were baffled by the Church of *England*, in a Disputation which he allowed them at *Hampton-Court*, even to the Conversion of Dr. *Sparks*, who was one of the two Disputants of their Party, and afterwards writ against them, any one who pleases may be satisfied.

The Agreement of their Principles with the fiercest Jesuits, is as easie to be

be demonstrated, and has already been done by several hands: I will only mention some few of them, to show how well prepar'd they came to that solemn Covenant of theirs, which they borrow'd first from the *Holy League of France*; and have lately copied out again in their intended Association against his present Majesty.

*Bellarmino*, as the Author of this History has told you, was himself a Preacher for the *League* in *Paris*, during the Rebellion there, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth. Some of his Principles are these following.

*In the Kingdoms of Men, the Power of the King is from the People, because the People make the King*: Observing that he says, *In the Kingdoms of Men*, there is no doubt but he restrains this Principle to the subordination of the Pope: For his Holiness, in that Rebellion, as you have read, was declar'd *Protector of the League*: So that the Pope first Excommunicates (which is the Outlawry of the Church) and by virtue of this Excommunication, the People are left

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to their own natural liberty, and may without farther Proceſs from *Rome* depoſe him.

Accordingly you ſee it practis'd, in the ſame Inſtance: Pope *Sixtus* firſt thunderſtruck King *Henry* the Third, and the King of *Navarre*; then the *Sorbonne* make Decrees, that they have ſucceſſively forfeited the Crown; the Parliament verifies theſe Decrees, and the Pope is petition'd to confirm the ſence of the Nation; that is, of the Rebels.

But I have related this too favourably for *Bellarmino*; for we hear him in another place, poſitively affirming it as matter of Faith, *If any Chriſtian Prince ſhall depart from the Catholick Religion, and ſhall withdraw others from it, he immediately forfeits all Power and Dignity, even before the Pope has pronounc'd Sentence on him; and his Subjects, in caſe they have power to do it, may and ought to caſt out ſuch an Heretick, from his Sovereignty over Chriſtians.*

Now conſonant to this is *Buchanan's* Principle, *That the People may confer the Government on whom they pleaſe.*  
And



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*And the Maxim of Knox, That if Princes be Tyrants against God and his Truth, their Subjects are releas'd from their Oath of Obedience. And Good-man's, That when Magistrates cease to do their Duties, God gives the Sword into the Peoples hands : evil Princes ought to be depos'd by inferior Magistrates ; and a private man, having an inward Call, may kill a Tyrant.*

'Tis the work of a Scavenger, to rake together and carry off all these Dunghills ; they are easie to be found at the Doors of all our Sects, and all our Atheistical Commonwealths men. And, besides, 'tis a needless labour ; they are so far from disowning such Positions, that they glory in them ; and wear them like Marks of Honour, as an *Indian* does a Ring in his Nose, or a *Souldanian* a Belt of Garbidge. In the mean time I appeal to any impartial man, whether men of such Principles can reasonably expect any Favour from the Government in which they live, and which Viper-like they would devour.

What I have remark'd of them is no more than necessary, to show how  
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aply their Principles are suited to their Practices : The History it self has sufficiently discover'd to the unbias'd Reader, that both the last Rebellion, and this present Conspiracy, ( which is the mystery of Iniquity still working in the three Nations ) were originally founded on the *French League* : that was their Model, according to which they built their *Babel*. You have seen how warily the first Association in *Picardy* was worded : nothing was to be attempted but for the King's Service, and an Acknowledgement was formally made, that both the Right and Power of the Government was in him : but it was pretended, that by occasion of the true *Protestant* Rebels, the Crown was not any longer in condition, either of maintaining it self, or protecting them. And that therefore in the Name of God, and by the Power of the holy Ghost, they joyn'd together in their own Defence, and that of their Religion. But all this while, though they wou'd seem to act by the King's Authority, and under him, the Combination was kept as secret as possibly they cou'd, and even

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even without the participation of the Sovereign; a sure Sign, that they intended him no good at the bottom. Nay, they had an Evasion ready too, against his Authority; for 'tis plain, they joynd *Humieres*, the Governour of the Province, in Commission with him; and only nam'd the King for show; but engag'd themselves at the same time to his Lieutenant, to be obedient to all his Commands; levying Men and Money, without the King's Knowledge, or any Law, but what they made amongst themselves. So, that in effect, the Rebellion and Combination of the *Hugonots*, was only a leading Card, and an example to the *Papists*, to rebel, on their side. And there was only this difference in the Cause, that the *Calvinists* set up for their Reformation, by the superior Power of Religion, and inherent Right of the People, against the King and Pope. The *Papists* pretended the same popular Right for their Rebellion against the King, and for the same end of Reformation, only they fac'd it, with Church and Pope.

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Our Sectaries, and Long Parliament of 41, had certainly these *French* Precedents in their eye. They copy'd their Methods of Rebellion; at first with great professions of Duty and Affection to the King; all they did was in order to make him glorious; all that was done against him was pretended to be under his Authority and in his Name; and even the War they rais'd, was pretended for the King and Parliament. But those Proceedings are so notoriously known, and have imploy'd so many Pens, that it wou'd be a nauseous Work for me to dwell on them. To draw the likeness of the *French* Transactions and ours, were in effect to transcribe the History I have translated. Every Page is full of it. Every man has seen the Parallel of the *Holy League*, and our *Covenant*; and cannot but observe, that besides the Names of the Countreys, *France* and *England*, and the Names of Religions, *Protestant* and *Papist*, there is scarcely to be found the least difference, in the project of the whole, and in the substance of the Articles. In the mean time I can-

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not but take notice, that our Rebels have left this eternal Brand upon their Memories, that while all their pretence was for the setting up the *Protestant* Religion, and pulling down of Popery, they have borrow'd from *Papists* both the Model of their Design, and their Arguments to defend it. And not from loyal, well principled *Papists*; but from the worst, the most bigotted, and most violent of that Religion. From some of the *Jesuites*, an Order founded on purpose to combat *Lutheranism* and *Calvinism*. The matter of Fact is so palpably true, and so notorious, that they cannot have the Impudence to deny it. But some of the *Jesuites* are the shame of the *Roman* Church, as the Sectaries are of ours. Their Tenets in Politicks are the same; both of them hate Monarchy, and love Democracy: both of them are superlatively violent; they are inveterate haters of each other in Religion, and yet agree in the Principles of Government. And if after so many Advices to a Painter, I might advise a *Dutch*-maker of Emblems; he should draw a *Presbyterian* in Arms on  
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one side, a *Jesuit* on the other, and a crownd Head betwixt them : for tis perfectly a Battel-royal. Each of them is endeavouring the destruction of his Adversary ; but the Monarch is sure to get Blows on both sides. But for those Sectaries and Commonwealths-men of 41, before I leave them, I must crave leave to observe of them, that generally they were a sower sort of thinking men, grim and surly Hypocrites ; such as could cover their Vices, with an appearance of great Devotion and austerity of Manners : neither Profaneness, nor Luxury, were encouragd by them, nor practis'd publickly, which gave them a great opinion of Sanctity amongst the Multitude ; and by that opinion principally they did their business : Though their Politicks were taken from the *Catholick League*, yet their Christianity much resembled those *Anabaptists*, who were their Original in Doctrine ; and these indeed were formidable Instruments of a religious Rebellion. But our new Conspirators of these seven last years, are men of quite another Make : I speak not of

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their non-Conformist Preachers, who pretend to *Enthusiasm*, and are as morose in their Worship, as were those first Sectaries, but of their Leading men, the Heads of their Faction, and the principal Members of it : what greater looseness of Life, more atheistical Discourse, more open Lewdness was ever seen, than generally was and is to be observ'd in those men? I am neither making a Satyr nor a Sermon here ; but I wou'd remark a little the ridiculousness of their Management. The strictness of Religion is their pretence ; and the men who are to set it up, have theirs to choose. The Long Parliament Rebels frequented Sermons, and observ'd Prayers and Fasting with all solemnity : but these new Reformers, who ought in prudence to have trodden in their steps, because their End was the same, to gull the People by an outside of Devotion, never us'd the means of insinuating themselves into the opinion of the Multitude. Swearing, Drunkenness, Blasphemies, and worse sins than Adultery, are the Badges of the Party : nothing but Liberty in their mouths,

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nothing but License in their practice.

For which reason they were never esteem'd by the Zealots of their Faction, but as their Tools ; and had they got uppermost, after the Royalists had been crush'd, they wou'd have been blown off, as too light for their Society. For my own part, when I had once observ'd this fundamental error in their Politiques, I was no longer afraid of their success: No Government was ever ruin'd by the open scandal of its opposers. This was just a *Catiline's* Conspiracy, of profligate, debauch'd, and bankrupt men: The wealthy amongst them were the fools of the Party, drawn in by the rest whose Fortunes were desperate; and the Wits of the Cabal fought only their private advantages. They had either lost their Preferences, and consequently were piqu'd, or were in hope to raise themselves by the general disturbance. Upon which account, they never cou'd be true to one another: There was neither Honour nor Conscience in the Foundation of their *League*, but eve-

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ry man having an eye to his own particular advancement, was no longer a Friend, than while his Interest was carrying on : So that Treachery was at the bottom of their design, first against the Monarchy, and if that fail'd, against each other ; in which, be it spoken to the honour of our Nation, the *English* are not behind any other Country. In few words, just as much fidelity might be expected from them in a common cause, as there is amongst a Troop of honest murdering and ravishing Bandits ; while the Booty is in prospect, they combine heartily and faithfully, but when a Proclamation of Pardon comes out, and a good reward into the bargain, for any one who brings in anothers Head ; the Scene is chang'd, and they are in more danger of being betray'd every man by his Companion, than they were formerly by the joynt forces of their Enemies. 'Tis true, they are still to be accounted dangerous, because, though they are dispers'd at present, and without an Head, yet time and lenity may furnish them again with a Com-

Commander: And all men are satisfied that the debauch'd Party of them, have no principle of Godliness to restrain them from Violence and Murders; nor the pretended Saints any principle of Charity, for 'tis an action of Piety in them to destroy their Enemies, having first pronounc'd them Enemies of God. What my Author says in general of the *Huguenots*, may justly be applyed to all our Sectaries: They are a malicious and bloody Generation, they bespatter honest Men with their Pens when they are not in power; and when they are uppermost, they hang them up like Dogs. To such kind of people all means of reclaiming, but only severity, are useless, while they continue obstinate in their designs against Church and Government: For tho' now their claws are par'd, they may grow again to be more sharp; they are still Lyons in their Nature, and may profit so much by their own errors in their late managements, that they may become more sanctify'd Traytors another time.

In the former part of our History,

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we see what *Henry* the Third gain'd from them by his remifness and concessions : Though our last King was not only incomparably more pious than that Prince, but also was far from being tax'd with any of his Vices ; yet in this they may be compar'd, without the least manner of reflection, that extreme Indulgence and too great Concessions , were the ruin of them both : And by how much the more , a King is subject by his Nature, to this frailty of too much mildness, which is so near resembling the God-like Attribute of Mercy ; by so much is he the more liable to be tax'd with Tyranny. A strange Paradox, but which was sadly verified in the Persons of those two Princes : For a Faction appearing zealous for the Publick Liberty , counts him a Tyrant who yields not up whatever they demand , even his most undoubted and just Prerogatives ; all that distinguishes a Sovereign from a Subject, and the yielding up, or taking away of which, is the very Subversion of the Government.

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Every point which a Monarch loses or relinquishes, but renders him the weaker to maintain the rest; and besides, they so construe it, as if what he gave up were the natural right of the people, which he or his Ancestors had usurp'd from them; which makes it the more dangerous for him to quit his hold, and is truly the reason why so many mild Princes have been branded with the names of Tyrants, by their incroaching Subjects. I have not room to enlarge upon this matter as I wou'd, neither dare I presume to press the Argument more closely: But passing by, as I promis'd, all the remarkable passages in the late Kings Reign, which resemble the Transactions of the *League*; I will briefly take notice of some few particulars, wherein our late Associators and Conspirators have made a Third Copy of the *League*. For the Original of their first Politiques was certainly no other than the *French*: This was first copied by the Rebels in Forty One, and since recopied within these late years by some of those who are lately dead, and by too many others  
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yet alive, and still drawing after the same design. In which, for want of time, many a fair blot shall be left unhit, neither do I promise to observe any method of times, or to take things in order as they happen'd.

As for the Persons who manag'd the two Associations, theirs and ours, 'tis most certain that in them is found the least resemblance: And 'tis well for us they were not like: For they had men of Subtilty and Valour to design, and then to carry on their Conspiracy; ours were but bunglers in comparison of them, who having a Faction not made by them, but ready form'd and fashion'd to their hands, (thanks to their Fathers) yet fail'd in every one of their Projections, and manag'd their business with much less dexterity, though far more wickedness than the *French*. They had indeed at their Head an old Conspirator, witty and turbulent, like the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and for courage in Execution much such another. But the good sense and conduct was clearly wanting on the *English* side; so that if we will allow him the contrivance

trivance of the Plot, or at least of the Conspiracy, which is an honour that no man will be willing to take from him; in all other circumstances he more resembled the old decrepit Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who fed himself with imaginary hopes of power, dream'd of outliving a King and his Successor, much more young and vigorous than himself, and of governing the World after their decease: To dye in Prison, or in Banishment, I think will make no mighty difference, but this is a main one; that the one was the Dupe of all his Party, the other led after him, and made fools of all his Faction. As for a Duke of *Guise*, or even so much as a Duke of *Mayenne*, I can find none in their whole Cabal. I cannot believe that any man now living cou'd have the vanity to pretend to it: 'Tis not every Age that can produce a Duke of *Guise*; a man who without the least shadow of a Title (unless we will believe the Memoires of the crack-brain'd Advocate *David*, who gave him one from *Charlemaign*) durst make himself Head of a Party,  
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and was not only so in his own conceit, but really; presum'd to beard a King, and was upon the point of being declar'd his Lieutenant General, and his Successor. None of these instances will hold in the Comparison, and therefore I leave it to be boasted, it may be, by one Party, but I am sure to be laugh'd at by another. Many hot-headed *Chevaliers d'Aumale*, and ambitious Bravo's like Captain St. Paul, may be found amongst them, Intriguing Ladies, and Gallants of the Times, such as are describ'd in the Army of the *League*, at the Battel of *Tury*; and besides them, many underling Knaves, Pimps, and Fools; but these are not worthy to be drawn into resemblance.

Therefore to pass by their Persons, and consider their Design: 'tis evident that on both sides they began with a *League*, and ended with a Conspiracy. In this they have copied, even to the word *Association*, which you may observe was us'd by *Humieres*, in the first wary *League*, which was form'd in *Picardy*: and we see to what it tended in the Event;  
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For when *Henry* the Third, by the assistance of the King of *Navarre*, had in a manner vanquish'd his Rebels, and was just upon the point of mairing *Paris*, a *Jacobin*, set on by the Preachers of the *League*, most barbarously murther'd him; and by the way take notice, that he pretended *Enthusiasm*, or Inspiration of God's holy Spirit, for the commission of his Parricide. I leave my Superiours to conclude from thence, the danger of tolerating Non-conformists, who (be it said with Reverence) under pretence of a Whisper from the holy Ghost, think themselves oblig'd to perpetrate the most enormous Crimes against the Person of their Sovereign, when they have first voted him a Tyrant, and an Enemy to God's People. This indeed was not so impudent a Method as what was us'd in the formal process of a pretended high-Court of Justice, in the Murther of King *Charles* the First; and therefore I do not compare those Actions: but 'tis much resembling, the intended Murther of our gracious King, at the *Rye*, and other Places: and that the Head of a Colledge might  
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not be wanting to urge the performance of this horrible Attempt, instead of Father *Edm. Bourgoing*, let Father *Ferguson* appear, who was not wanting in his spiritual Exhortations to our Conspirators, and to make them believe, that to assassinate the King, was only to take away another *Holophernes*. 'Tis true, the *Jacobin* was but one, and there were many joynd in our Conspiracy, and more perhaps than *Rumsey* or *West* have ever nam'd; but this, though it takes from the justness of the Comparison, adds incomparably more to the Guilt of it, and makes it fouler on our side of the Water.

My Author makes mention of another Conspiracy against *Henry* the Fourth, for the seizing of his Person at *Mante*, by the young Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was Head of the third Party, call'd at that time the *Politicks*, that is to say in modern English, *Trimmers*: This too was a Limb of our Conspiracy; and the more moderate Party of our Traitors were engag'd in it. But had it taken effect,  
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the least it cou'd have produc'd, was to have overthrown the Succession ; and no reasonable man wou'd believe, but they who cou'd forget their Duty so much as to have seiz'd the King, might afterwards have been induc'd to have him made away, especially when so fair a provision was made, by the House of Commons, that the *Pa-pists* were to suffer for it.

But they have not only rummag'd the *French* Histories of the *League*, for Conspiracies and Parricides of Kings ; I shall make it apparent that they have studied those execrable Times, for Precedents of undermining the lawful Authority of their Sovereigns. Our *English* are not generally commended for Invention ; but these were Merchants of small Wares ; very Pedlers in Policy : they must like our Taylors have all their Fashions from the *French* : and study the *French League* for every Alteration, as our Snippers go over once a year into *France*, to bring back the newest Mode, and to learn to cut and shape it.

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For example: The first Estates conven'd at *Blois* by *Henry* the Third, (the *League* being then on foot, and most of the three Orders dipt in it,) demanded of that King, that the Articles which shou'd be approv'd by the three Orders shou'd pass for inviolable Laws, without leaving to the King the power of changing any thing in them. That the same was design'd here by the Leading men of their Faction, is obvious to every one: for they had it commonly in their mouths, in ordinary Discourse: and it was offer'd in Print by *Plato Redivivus*, as a good Expedient for the Nation, in case his Majesty wou'd have consented to it.

Both in the first and last Estates at *Blois*, the Bill of Exclusion, against the King of *Navarre* was press'd; and in the last carried by all the three Orders, though the King wou'd never pass it: The end of that Bill was very evident; it was to have introduc'd the Duke of *Guise* into the Throne, after the King's decease: to which he had no manner of Title, or at least a very crack'd one, of which his own Party were asham'd. Our Bill of Exclu-

clusion was copied from hence ; but thrown out by the House of Peers, before it came to the King's turn to have wholly quash'd it.

After the Duke of *Guise* had forc'd the King to fly from *Paris* by the *Barricades*, the Queen-Mother being then in the Traitors Interests, when he had outwitted her so far, as to perswade her, to joyn in the Banishment of the Duke of *Espernon* his Enemy ; and to make her believe, that if the King of *Navarre*, whom she hated, were excluded, he wou'd assist her, in bringing her beloved Grandchild of *Lorraine*, to the possession of the Crown ; it was propos'd by him, for the *Parisians*, that the Lieutenancy of the City might be wholly put into their hands ; that the new Provost of Merchants, and present Sheriffs of the Faction, might be confirm'd by the King ; and for the future, they shou'd not only elect their Sheriffs, but the Colonels and Captains of the several Wards.

How nearly this was copied in the tumultuous meetings of the City for their Sheriffs, both we and they have cause to remember ; and Mr. *Hunt's*

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Book, concerning their Rights in the City Charter, mingled with infamous aspersions of the Government, confirms the Notions to have been the same. And I could produce some very probable instances out of another Libel, (considering the time at which it was written, which was just before the detection of the Conspiracy) that the Author of it, as well as the Supervisor, was engag'd in it, or at least privy to it; but let Villany and Ingratitude be safe and flourish.

By the way, an Observation of *Philip de Comines* comes into my mind: That when the Dukes of *Burgundy*, who were Lords of *Ghent*, had the choice of the Sheriffs of that City, in that year all was quiet and well govern'd; but when they were elected by the people, nothing but tumults and seditions follow'd.

I might carry this resemblance a little farther: For in the heat of the Plot, when the *Spanish* Pilgrims were coming over, nay more, were reported to be landed; when the Representatives of the Commons were either mortally afraid, or pretended

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to be so of this airy Invasion; a Request was actually made to the King, that he wou'd put the *Militia* into their hands: which how prudently he refus'd, the example of his Father has inform'd the Nation.

To show how the Heads of their Party had conn'd over their Lesson of the Barricades of *Paris*, in the midst of *Oates* his Popish Plot, when they had fermented the City with the leaven of their Sedition, and they were all prepar'd for a rising against the Government; let it be remembred, that as the Duke of *Guise* and the *Council of Sixteen*, forg'd a List of Names, which they pretended to be of such as the King had set down for destruction; so a certain Earl of *blef-sed Memory*, caus'd a false report to be spread of his own danger, and some of his Accomplices, who were to be murder'd by the Papists and the Royal Party; which was a design to endear themselves to the multitude, as the Martyrs of their cause; and at the same time, to cast an odious reflection on the King and Ministers, as if they sought their blood with un-

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christian cruelty, without the ordinary forms of Justice. To which may be added, as an Appendix, their pretended fear, when they went to the Parliament at *Oxford*; before which some of them made their Wills, and shew'd them publickly; others sent to search about the places where the two Houses were to sit, as if another Gunpowder Plot was contriving against them, and almost every man of them, according to his quality, went attended with his Guard of Janizaries, like *Titus*: So that what with their followers, and the seditious Townsmen of that City, they made the formidable appearance of an Army; at least sufficient to have swallowed up the Guards, and to have seiz'd the Person of the King, in case he had not prevented it by a speedy removal, as soon as he had Dissolv'd that Parliament.

I begin already to be tir'd with drawing after their deformities, as a Painter wou'd be, who had nothing before him in his Table but *Lazars*, Cripples, and hideous Faces, which he was oblig'd to represent: Yet I  
must

must not omit some few of their most notorious Copyings. Take for example their *Council of Six*, which was an imitation of the *League*, who set up their famous Council, commonly call'd *Of the Sixteen*: And take notice, that on both sides they pick'd out the most heady and violent men of the whole Party; nay they consider'd not so much as their natural parts, but heavy Blockheads were thrown in for lumber, to make up the weight: Their Zeal for the Party, and their Ambition, atton'd for their want of Judgment, especially if they were thought to have any interest in the people. Loud roarers of *Ay* and *No* in the *Parliament*, without common sense in ordinary discourses, if they were favourites of the Multitude, were made Privy Counsellors of their Cabal; and Fools, who only wanted a parti-colour'd Coat, a Cap, and a Bawble, to pass for such amongst reasonable men, were to redress the imaginary Grievances of a Nation, by murdering, or at least seizing of the King. Men of scandalous Lives, Cheats and

Stt 3 Murderers,



Murderers, were to Reform the Nation, and propagate the Protestant Religion: And the rich Ideots to hazard their Estates and Expectations, to forsake their Ease, Honour, and Preferments, for an empty name of Heading a Party: The wittiest man amongst them to encumber and vex his decrepit Age, for a silly picque of revenge, and to maintain his Character to the last, of never being satisfied with any Government, in which he was not more a King than the present Master. To give the last stroke to this resemblance, Fortune did her part; and the same fate of division amongst themselves, ruin'd both those Councils which were contriving their King's destruction. The Duke of *Mayenne* and his Adherents, who were much the most honest of the *Leaguers*, were not only for a King, but for a King of the Royal Line, in case that Duke cou'd not cause the Election to fall on himself, which was impossible, because he was already married: The rest were some for this man, some for another, and all in a lump for the Daughter of *Spain*;  
 this

this disunited them, and in the end ruin'd their conspiracy. In our *Council of Six*, some were for murdering, and some for securing of the King; some for a rising in the West, and some for an Insurrection of the brisk Boys of *Wapping*: In short, some were for a mungrel kind of Kingship, to the exclusion of the Royal Line, but the greater part for a bare-fac'd Common-wealth. This rais'd a division in their Counsel, that division was fomented into a mutual hatred of each other; and the conclusion was, that instead of one Conspiracy, the Machines play'd double, and produc'd two, which were carry'd on at the same time: A kind of Spread Eagle Plot was hatch'd, with two Heads growing out of the same Body; such twin Treasons are apt to struggle like *Esau* and *Jacob*, in the Womb, and both endeavouring to be first born, the Younger pulls back the Elder by the Heel.

I promis'd to observe no order, and am performing my word before I was aware: After the Barricades, and at many other times, the Duke of *Guise*.

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and

*The Postscript.*

and *Council of Sixteen*, amongst the rest of the Articles, demanded of the King to cashier his Guards of the forty five Gentlemen, as unknown in the times of his Predecessors, and unlawful; as also to remove his surest Friends from about his Person, and from their Places both Military and Civil. I leave any man to judge, whether our Conspirators did not play the Second Part to the same Tune: Whether his Majesties Guards were not alledg'd to be unlawful, and a grievance to the Subjects; and whether frequent Votes did not pass in the House of Commons at several times, for removing and turning out of Office, those who on all occasions behav'd themselves most Loyally to the King, without so much as giving any other reason of their misdemeanors, than publick fame: That is to say, reports forg'd and spread by their own Faction, or without allowing them the common justice of vindicating themselves from those calumnies and aspersions.

I omit the many illegal Imprisonments of free-born men, by their own  
Repre-

Representatives, who from a Jury erected themselves into Judges ; because I find nothing resembling it in the worst and most seditious Times of *France*. But let the History be search'd, and I believe *Bussy Le Clerc* never committed more outrages in pillaging of Houses, than *Waller*, in pretending to search for Popish Reliques : Neither do I remember that the *French Leaguers* ever took the evidence of a *Jew*, as ours did of *Faria* : But this I wonder at the less, considering what Christian Witnesses have been us'd, if at least the chief of them was ever Christned. *Bussy le Clerc*, 'tis true, turn'd out a whole Parliament together, and brought them Prisoners to the *Bastille* ; and *Bussy Oates* was for garbling too, when he inform'd against a worthy and Loyal Member, whom he caus'd to be expell'd the House, and sent Prisoner to the Tower : But that which was then accounted a disgrace to him, will make him be remembred with honour to Posterity.

I will trouble the Reader but with one Observation more, and that shall be

be to show how dully and pedantically they have copied, even the false steps of the *League*, in Politicks, and those very Maxims which ruin'd the Heads of it. The Duke of *Guise* was always ostentatious of his power in the States, where he carried all things in opposition to the King: But by relying too much on the power he had there, and not using Arms when he had them in his hand, I mean by not prosecuting his Victory to the uttermost, when he had the King inclos'd in the *Louvre*, he mis'd his opportunity, and Fortune never gave it him again.

The late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was the undoubted Head and Soul of that Party, went upon the same maxims, being (as we may reasonably conclude) fearful of hazarding his Fortunes, and observing that the late Rebellion under the former King, though successful in War, yet ended in the Restauration of His Present Majesty, his aim was to have excluded His Royal Highness by an Act of Parliament; and to have forc'd such concessions from the King, by pressing the  
the

the chymical dangers of a Popish Plot, as wou'd not only have destroy'd the Succession, but have subverted the Monarchy. For he presum'd he ventur'd nothing, if he cou'd have executed his design by form of Law, and in a Parliamentary way. In the mean time, he made notorious mistakes: First, in imagining that his pretensions wou'd have pass'd in the House of Peers, and afterwards by the King. When the death of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* had fermented the people, when the City had taken the alarm of a Popish Plot, and the Government of it was in Fanatique hands; when a Body of white Boys was already appearing in the West, and many other Counties waited but the word to rise, then was the time to have push'd his business: But Almighty God, who had otherwise dispos'd of the Event, infatuated his Counsels, and made him slip his opportunity, which he himself observ'd too late, and would have redress'd by an Insurrection which was to have begun at *Wapping*, after the King had been murder'd at the *Rye*.

And

And now it will be but Justice before I conclude, to say a word or two of my Author. He was formerly a Jesuit : He has amongst others of his works, written the History of *Arianism*, of *Lutheranism*, of *Calvinism*, the *Holy War*, and the *Fall of the Western Empire*. In all his Writings, he has supported the Temporal Power of Sovereigns, and especially of his Master the *French King*, against the usurpations and incroachments of the Papacy : For which reason being in disgrace at *Rome*, he was in a manner forc'd to quit his Order, and from Father *Maimbourg*, is now become Monsieur *Maimbourg* : The Great King his Patron, has provided plentifully for him by a large Salary, and indeed he has deserv'd it from him. As for his style, 'tis rather *Ciceronian*, copious, florid, and figurative ; than succinct : He is esteemed in the *French Court* equal to their best Writers, which has procur'd him the Envy of some who set up for Criticks. Being a profess'd Enemy of the *Calvinists*, he is particularly hated by them ; so that their testimonies against him stand suspected

ed of prejudice. This History of the *League* is generally allow'd to be one of his best pieces: He has quoted every where his Authors in the Margin to show his Impartiality; in which, if I have not follow'd him, 'tis because the chiefest of them are unknown to us, as not being hitherto translated into *English*. His particular Commendations of Men and Families, is all which I think superfluous in his Book; but that too is pardonable in a man, who having created himself many Enemies, has need of the support of Friends. This particular work was written by express order of the *French* King, and is now translated by our Kings Command: I hope the effect of it in this Nation will be, to make the well-meaning men of the other Party sensible of their past errors, the worst of them ashamed, and prevent Posterity from the like unlawful and impious designs.

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